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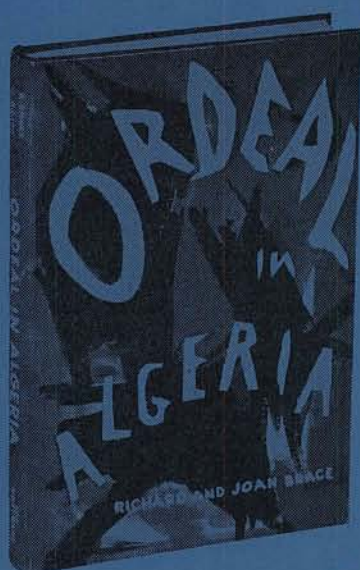
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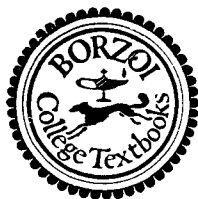
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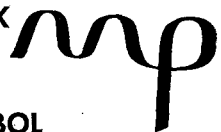
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The Age of Reinterpretation

C. VANN WOODWARD*

INNUMERABLE influences have inspired the reinterpretation of history. The most common of late would appear to have been those originating within the intellectual community, or within the historical guild itself, rather than with the impact of historical events. Influences of the predominant sort include new theories, new methods, and new sources. Of special importance in recent years has been the example of other disciplines and sciences, old ones such as philosophy and biology with new theories, or new ones such as psychology and sociology with new approaches to old problems.

With no intended disparagement for prevailing and recent types of revision, the present essay concerns itself almost exclusively with reinterpretations that are inspired by historical events and have little to do with new theories, new methods, or new disciplines. The suggested opportunities for reinterpretation are, in fact, related to historical events so recent that

* Mr. Woodward, professor at Johns Hopkins University, is interested primarily in southern and post-Civil War history and is the author of *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1951). He read this paper at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1959.

nearly all of them have occurred since the summer of 1945. As responsible human beings we are rightly concerned first of all with the impact of these events upon the present and immediate future. But as historians we are, or we should be, concerned with their effect upon our view of the past as well. These events have come with a concentration and violence for which the term "revolution" is usually reserved. It is a revolution, or perhaps a set of revolutions, for which we have not yet found a name. My thesis is that these developments will and should raise new questions about the past and affect our reading of large areas of history, and my belief is that future revisions may be extensive enough to justify calling the coming era of historiography an age of reinterpretation. The first illustration happens to come mainly from American history, but this should not obscure the broader scope of the revolution, which has no national limitations.

Throughout most of its history the United States has enjoyed a remarkable degree of military security, physical security from hostile attack and invasion. This security was not only remarkably effective, but it was relatively free. Free security was based on nature's gift of three vast bodies of water interposed between this country and any other power that might constitute a serious menace to its safety. There was not only the Atlantic to the east and the Pacific to the west, but a third body of water, considered so impenetrable as to make us virtually unaware of its importance, the Arctic Ocean and its great ice cap to the north. The security thus provided was free in the sense that it was enjoyed as a bounty of nature in place of the elaborate and costly chains of fortifications and even more expensive armies and navies that took a heavy toll of the treasuries of less fortunate countries and placed severe tax burdens upon the backs of their people. The costly navy that policed and defended the Atlantic was manned and paid for by British subjects for more than a century, while Americans enjoyed the added security afforded without added cost to themselves. In 1861 the United States was maintaining the second largest merchant marine in the world without benefit of a battle fleet. At that time there were only 7,600 men in the United States Navy as compared with more than ten times that number in the British Navy.¹

¹ During Andrew Jackson's administration Alexis de Tocqueville described the situation in the following terms: "The President of the United States is the commander-in-chief of the army, but of an army composed of only six thousand men; he commands the fleet, but the fleet reckons but few sails; he conducts the foreign relations of the Union, but the United States are a nation without neighbors. Separated from the rest of the world by the ocean, and too weak as yet to aim at the dominion of the seas, they have no enemies, and their interests rarely come into contact with those of any other nation of the globe." *Democracy in America*, tr. Henry Reeve (2 vols., New York, 1904), I, 120.

Between the second war with England and the Second World War, the United States was blessed with a security so complete and so free that it was able virtually to do without an army and for the greater part of the period without a navy as well. Between the world war that ended in 1763 and the world wars of the twentieth century the only major military burdens placed upon the people were occasioned not by foreign threats but by domestic quarrels, the first to establish independence for the American colonies and the second to thwart independence for the southern states. After each of these civil wars, as after all the intervening wars, Americans immediately dismantled their military establishment. They followed the same procedure after every succeeding war, down to World War II, and even after that they carried demobilization to dangerous extremes before reversing the policy.

The end of the era of free security has overtaken Americans so suddenly and swiftly that they have not brought themselves to face its practical implications, much less its bearing upon their history. Conventional aircraft and jet propulsion had shrunk the time dimensions of the Atlantic and Pacific from weeks to hours by the mid-fifties. But before military adjustment could be properly made to that revolution, the development of ballistic missiles shrank the two oceans further from hours to minutes. In the same period the hitherto impenetrable Arctic Ocean has not only been navigated by atomic-powered submarines under the ice cap, but has been shrunk in time width to dimensions of minutes and seconds by which we now measure the other oceans. The age of security and the age of free security ended almost simultaneously.

The proposition was advanced before a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893 that "the first period of American history," a period of four centuries, was brought to an end by the disappearance of free land. Perhaps it is not premature to suggest that another epoch of American history was closed even more suddenly sixty years later by the disappearance of free security. It may be objected that security was never completely free and that the period when it came nearest to being so did not last very long. But one can reasonably ask as much latitude to speak in comparative and relative terms about free security as the theorists of free land enjoyed in their generalizations. Land was of course never completely free either, and the period when it came nearest to being so only dated from the Homestead Act of 1862, less than three decades before the end of the frontier era. In a comparative sense land may nevertheless be said to have been relatively free for

a much longer period. In similar terms security may also be said to have been free until quite recently.

Military expenditures of the federal government have, of course, increased greatly and almost continuously since the last decade of the eighteenth century. Until very recently, however, they have not increased so rapidly as the government's nonmilitary expenditures. During the first century of the Republic's history, save in war years, annual military expenditures rarely came to as much as 1 per cent of the gross national product, returned to that level a few years after the First World War, and remained there until the Great Depression cut production back drastically. In the decade preceding Pearl Harbor, the percentage of federal expenditures devoted to military purposes fell lower than ever before in our history.²

Another measure of free security is the small demand that military service has made upon national manpower. Before World War I, apart from actual war periods and their immediate aftermath, it was an extremely rare year in which as many as 1 per cent of the total male population between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine saw military service. Between Reconstruction and the Spanish-American War there was no year in which as many as one-half of 1 per cent served in the armed forces.³ The handful of men who made up the regular army during the nineteenth century were not employed in patrolling frontiers against foreign invasion, but chiefly in coping with a domestic police problem posed by the Indians. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War the United States Army numbered a few more than sixteen thousand men, and 183 of its 198 companies were spread among seventy-nine posts on the Indian frontier. The remaining fifteen companies were available for "defense" of the Canadian and Atlantic frontiers, and the incipient Confederate frontier.⁴ The southern constabulary that patrolled the slaves was organized on military lines, but like the regular army it was concerned with a domestic police problem.

The contrast between free security and security costs of the present era scarcely requires emphasis. Military expenditures in 1957 and the years since

² M. Slade Kendrick, *A Century and a Half of Federal Expenditures*, Occasional Paper 48, National Bureau of Economic Research (New York, 1955), 10-12, 28, 38, 40-42. For comparisons between military appropriations of the United States and other powers, 1820-1937, see Quincy Wright, *A Study of War* (2 vols., Chicago, 1942), I, 666-72, Appendix XXII, esp. Tables 58, 59, and 60. The significant index of comparison is the proportion between military appropriations and national income. That proportion rose in the United States from 0.8 in 1914 to 1.5 in 1937, while in the same years it stood in Great Britain at 3.4 and 5.7; in France at 4.8 and 9.1; in Japan at 4.8 and 28.2; in Germany at 4.6 and 23.5; and in Russia at 6.3 and 26.4. This was the only period for which figures are given for all these powers.

³ Kendrick, *A Century and a Half of Federal Expenditures*, 89-90. Before 1865 only white males of military age are included in these figures.

⁴ Theodore Ropp, *War in the Modern World* (Durham, N. C., 1959), 157.

have amounted to 10 per cent of the gross national product. By way of comparison, military expenditures in the 1880's were never over four-tenths of 1 per cent. In spite of the vast increase of the gross national product during the last century, military costs have increased far faster and now represent ten to twenty times the percentage of the gross national product they represented in the peace years of the previous century.⁵ Not counting payments to veterans, they now account for nearly 70 per cent of the federal budget. The more advanced and improved military machinery paradoxically requires more instead of less manpower, both military and civilian. The Department of Defense and its branches employ more civilian workers now than did the entire federal government before the Great Depression. Indications are that we are only at the beginning instead of the culmination of expansion in costs and manpower for military purposes and that future expenditures will be larger still.

If historians waited until the disappearance of free land to recognize fully the influence of the frontier-and-free-land experience on American history, perhaps the even more sudden and dramatic disappearance of free security will encourage them to recognize the effect of another distinguishing influence upon our national history. I am not prepared to make any claims about the comparative importance of the two themes, nor do I wish to make or inspire any exaggerations of the influence of free security. But if the influence of free land may be considered significant in the shaping of American character and national history, it is possible that the effect of free security might profitably be studied for contributions to the same ends.

Certain traits that Americans generally regard as desirable, such as democracy, individualism, self-reliance, inventiveness, have been attributed in some measure to the frontier-and-free-land experience. It might be that the sunnier side of the national disposition—the sanguine temperament, the faith in the future,⁶ what H. G. Wells once called our “optimistic fatalism”—is also related to a long era of habituation to military security that was effective, reliable, and virtually free. Optimism presupposes a future that is unusually benign and reliably congenial to man's enterprises. Anxieties about security have kept the growth of optimism within bounds among other peoples, but the relative absence of such anxieties in the past has helped, along with other factors, to make optimism a national philosophy in

⁵ Simon Kuznets in Committee for Economic Development, *Problems of United States Economic Development* (2 vols., New York, 1958), I, 29.

⁶ Boyd C. Shafer, “The American Heritage of Hope,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVII (Dec. 1950), 422–50.

America. The freedom of American youth from the long period of training in military discipline that left its mark upon the youth of nations where it was a routine requirement could hardly have failed to make some contribution to the distinctiveness of national character.

Free security is related at various points to the development of the American economy. So long as an economy of scarcity prevailed in the land the gross national product was not far above the level of subsistence. While the margin was narrow, the demands of an expensive military establishment could have consumed so large a proportion of the surplus above subsistence as to retard seriously the formation of capital. Relative immunity from this drain, on the other hand, enlarged opportunities for the formation of capital and the increase of productivity. Free security was certainly related to light taxes and a permissive government, and they in turn had much to do with the development of the famous American living standard.

Not all the historic influences of free security have been so benign. Tocqueville's classic study of the national character attributes to democracy some familiar patterns of military conduct that might be profitably reexamined in the light of the free security thesis. Tocqueville finds, for example, that "the private soldiers remain most like civilians" in a democracy, that they chafe under discipline with "a restless and turbulent spirit," and that they are "ever ready to go back to their homes" when the fighting is over. With regard to the officer corps he observes that "among a democratic people the choicer minds of the nation are gradually drawn away from the military profession, to seek by other paths distinction, power, and especially wealth." He adds that "among democratic nations in time of peace the military profession is held in little honor and indifferently followed. This want of public favor is a heavy discouragement to the army."⁷ Tocqueville may be correct in suggesting democracy as one explanation for these attitudes and patterns of behavior, but no explanation of American attitudes is complete that neglects a national disposition to look upon security as a natural right. What a people half consciously comes to regard as a free gift of nature they are with difficulty persuaded to purchase at high cost in treasure, inconvenience, and harsh discipline. To reward with high honors, prestige, and secure status the professional military men who insist upon these sacrifices in time of peace comes hard to such people.

The heritage of free and easy security can also be detected behind the disposition to put living standard, private indulgence, and wasteful luxury ahead of vital security requirements. The same heritage can almost cer-

⁷ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II, 761-68.

tainly be discerned at work in the tendency to plunge into wars first and prepare for them later. The historic background of security might help to explain, even if it cannot excuse, the irresponsibility of political leaders who make foreign commitments, coin bellicose slogans, and indulge in wild threats and promises without first providing the military means to back them up.

There are other aspects of American history besides demagogic diplomacy and military shortcomings that are not to be fully understood without reference to the history of free security. Among these surely is the American Civil War. The United States is the only major country since Cromwellian England that could afford the doubtful luxury of a full-scale civil war of four years without incurring the evils of foreign intervention and occupation. Had such evils been as much a foregone conclusion as they have been among other nations, it is doubtful that Americans would have proved as willing as they were to fall upon each other's throats.

It is doubtful, also, that Americans could have developed and indulged with the freedom they have their peculiar national attitudes toward power, had it not been for their special immunity from the more urgent and dire demands for the employment of power to assure national security and survival. Having this relative immunity, they were able to devise and experiment with elaborate devices to diffuse and atomize power. They divided it among the states and later among business corporations. They used such devices as checks and balances, separation of powers, and division of powers to deadlock power and to thwart positive action for long periods. The experience probably encouraged the tendency to regard power as bad in itself and any means of restraining or denying it as a positive good.

The national myth that America is an innocent nation in a wicked world is associated to some degree in its origins and perpetuation with the experience of free security. That which other nations had of necessity to seek by the sword and defend by incurring the guilt of using it was obtained by the Americans both freely and innocently, at least in their own eyes. They disavowed the engines and instruments of the power they did not need and proclaimed their innocence for not using them, while at the same time they passed judgment upon other nations for incurring the guilt inevitably associated with power. "We lived for a century," writes Reinhold Niebuhr, "not only in the illusion but in the reality of innocency in our foreign relations. We lacked the power in the first instance to become involved in the guilt of its use." But we sought to maintain the innocence of our national youth after acquiring power that was incompatible with it. We first con-

cealed from ourselves the reality of power in our economic and technological might, but after it became undeniable, and after military strength was added to it, as Niebuhr says, "we sought for a time to preserve innocence by disavowing the responsibilities of power."⁸ The urge to return to a free security age of innocence and the flight from responsibility and from the guilt of wielding power may be traced in elaborate efforts to maintain neutrality, in desperate struggles for isolationism and "America First," as well as in the idealistic plans of religious and secular pacifists.

So long as free land was fertile and arable, and so long as security was not only free but strong and effective, it is no wonder that the world seemed to be America's particular oyster. Now that both free land and free security have disappeared, it is not surprising that the American outlook has altered and the prospect has darkened. The contrast with the past was even sharper in the case of free security than in the instance of free land, for the transition was almost immediate from a security that was both free and effective to an attempt at security that was frightfully costly and seemed terrifyingly ineffective. The spell of the long past of free security might help to account for the faltering and bewildered way in which America faced its new perils and its new responsibilities.

This discussion leads naturally to a second and more extensive field of opportunity for reinterpretation, that of military history. In this field there are no national limitations and few limits of time and period. Military subjects have traditionally occupied a large share of the historian's attention, a disproportionate share in the opinion of some critics. Yet the military historian is now faced with the challenge of relating the whole history of his subject to the vast revolution in military weapons and strategic theory that has occurred in the past fifteen years. Primarily this revolution involves two phases: first, explosives, and second, the means of delivering them upon a target. Both phases were inaugurated toward the end of the Second World War.

The revolution in explosives began when the primitive A-bomb was exploded by American forces over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.⁹ This was the first and, so far, the last such weapon but one ever fired in anger. That event alone marked the lurid dawn of a new age. But the entirely unprecedented pace of change in the weapons revolution has swept us far beyond

⁸ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History* (New York, 1952), 35.

⁹ Two rival dates for the opening of the nuclear age are December 2, 1942, when Enrico Fermi established a chain reaction in the Chicago laboratory, and July 16, 1945, when the test bomb was exploded in New Mexico.

that primitive dawn and broken the continuity of military tradition and history. Since 1945 we have passed from bombs reckoned in kilotons of TNT to those computed in megatons, the first of which was the hydrogen bomb exploded at Bikini on March 1, 1954, less than a decade after the A-bomb innovation. The twenty kiloton atomic bomb dropped over Nagasaki in 1945 had a thousand times the explosive power of the largest block-buster used in World War II, but the twenty megaton thermonuclear bomb represents a thousand-fold increase over the Nagasaki bomb. One bomb half the twenty megaton size is estimated by Henry A. Kissinger to represent "*five times the explosive power of all the bombs dropped on Germany during the five years of war and one hundred times those dropped on Japan.*"¹⁰ And according to Oskar Morgenstern, "One single bomb can harbor a force greater than all the explosives used by all belligerents in World War II or even greater than all the energy ever used in any form in all previous wars of mankind put together."¹¹ But this would still not appear to be the ultimate weapon, for it is now said that a country capable of manufacturing the megaton bomb is conceivably capable, should such madness possess it, of producing a "begaton" bomb. Reckoned in billions instead of millions of tons of TNT, it would presumably represent a thousand-fold increase, if such a thing is conceivable, over the megaton weapon.

The revolution in the means of delivering explosives upon targets, like the revolution in explosives, also began during the Second World War. Before the end of that war, the jet-propelled aircraft, the snorkel submarine, the supersonic rocket, and new devices for guiding ships, aircraft, or missiles were all in use. But also as in the case of the revolution in explosives, the revolution in agents of delivery accelerated at an unprecedented pace during the fifteen years following the war. The new jet aircraft became obsolescent in succeeding models before they were in production, sometimes before they came off the drafting boards. The snorkel submarine acquired atomic power and a range of more than fifty thousand miles without refueling. The expansion of rockets in size, range, and speed was even more revolutionary. The German V-2 in use against London during the last year of the war had a range of only about two hundred miles and a speed of only about five times that of sound. The intermediary range ballistic missile, capable of carrying a thermonuclear warhead, has a range of around fifteen hundred miles, and the intercontinental missile with similar capabilities has a range in excess of five thousand miles and flies at a rate on the order of twenty

¹⁰ Henry A. Kissinger, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (New York, 1957), 70-71. Italics in the original.

¹¹ Oskar Morgenstern, *The Question of National Defense* (New York, 1959), 10.

times the speed of sound. To appreciate the pace and extent of the revolution in agents of delivery, one should recall that in the long history of firearms, military technology was only able to increase the range of cannon from the few hundred yards of the primitive smoothbore to a maximum of less than thirty miles in the 1940's with the mightiest rifled guns. Then in less than fifteen years ranges became literally astronomical.

In all these measurements and samples of change in military technology it should be kept in mind that the revolution is still in progress and in some areas may well be only in its beginning stages. The line between the intercontinental rockets and some of the space rockets would seem to be a rather arbitrary one. The race for the development of the nuclear-powered plane may produce a craft capable of ranges limited in a practical way only by the endurance of the crew. The technological breakthrough has become a familiar phenomenon of the military revolution, and there is no justification for the assumption that we have seen the last of these developments.

To seek the meaning of this revolution in a comparison with that worked by the advent of firearms is misleading. The progress of the revolution brought on by gunpowder, first used in military operations in the early fourteenth century, was glacial by comparison. Only very gradually did the gun replace the sword, the arrow, the spear, and the battering ram. Flintlocks did not arrive until the seventeenth century, field artillery of significance until the eighteenth century, and it was not until the middle of the last century, more than five hundred years after the first military use of gunfire, that the era of modern firearms really opened. Military doctrine changed even more slowly.

The nuclear revolution is of a different order entirely. If strategic bombing with thermonuclear weapons occurs on an unrestricted scale now entirely possible with existing forces, it is quite likely to render subsequent operation of armies, navies, and air forces not only superfluous but unfeasible. It is not simply that huge concentrations of forces such as were used in major amphibious and land operations in the last world war present a vulnerable target themselves. Of more elemental importance is the fact that such armies, navies, and air forces require thriving industrial economies and huge bases and cannot operate when the cities of their home territories are smoking craters and their ports and bases are piles of radioactive rubble. As for the military effectiveness of survivors in the home territory, according to Bernard Brodie, "the *minimum* destruction and disorganization that one should expect from an unrestricted thermonuclear attack in the future is likely to be too high to permit further meaningful mobilization of war-

making capabilities over the short term.”¹² Faith in the wartime potential of the American industrial plant would appear to be another casualty of the revolution.

Historic changes in weapons, tactics, and strategy between one war and the next, or even one century or one era and the next in the past, become trivial in importance by comparison with the gulf between the preatomic and the nuclear age of strategic bombing. We are now able to view the past in a new perspective. We can already see that the vast fleets that concentrated off the Normandy beaches and at Leyte Gulf, or the massed armies that grappled in the Battle of the Bulge or across the Russian Steppes, or for that matter the old-fashioned bomber squadrons that droned back and forth across the English Channel year after year dropping what the air force now contemptuously calls “iron bombs” were more closely related to a remote past than to a foreseeable future. They did not, as they seemed at the time, represent the beginning of a new age of warfare. They represented instead the end of an old age, a very old age.

This is not to assume that unrestricted nuclear war is the only type of military operations that are any longer conceivable, nor that wars of limited objectives, limited geographic area, and limited destructiveness are no longer possible. To make such assumptions, indeed, would be either to despair of the future of civilized man or to subscribe to the theory that national differences will thenceforth be settled without resort to force. Even assuming that limited wars may still be fought with “conventional” weapons, tactics, and strategy of the old era, there will still be an important difference setting them apart from pre-nuclear wars. Where major powers are directly or indirectly involved, at least, limited wars will be fought under an umbrella of nuclear power. The effects of that conditioning environment have yet to be tested, but it can scarcely be assumed that they will be inconsiderable.

Instead of making military history irrelevant or unimportant, the sudden transition from the old to the new age of warfare should actually enhance the role of the historian. We stand desperately in need of historical reinterpretation. The men who now have responsibility for determining policy, strategy, and tactics in the new age of warfare are inevitably influenced by their experience and training grounded on an earlier age of warfare and an outmoded interpretation of its history. The fact is that many of the precepts, principles, and values derived from past experience in wars can be tragically misleading in the new age. These include some of the so-called “unchang-

¹² Bernard Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Princeton, N. J., 1959), 167. See also 147-49 on the comparison with the firearms revolution.

ing principles of war" that are imbibed during training and discipline until they become almost "second nature" to the professional military man. Traditions that associate the new type of war with honor, valor, and glory are no longer quite relevant. The sacred doctrine of concentration and mass, applied at the critical point, has lost its traditional meaning.

The age-old assumption of a commander's freedom of choice once war was started can no longer be made. In previous ages, one could start a war and assume that his objectives, methods, or degree of commitment could be altered according to changing prospects of success or failure, or according to whether probable gains outweighed probable losses. Even as late as World War II one could still approach the abyss of barbarism or annihilation, take a look and turn back, settle for an armistice or a compromise, and bide one's time. Once resort is made to unrestricted nuclear war, there is no turning back.

The underpinnings of logic that have served historically to justify resort to war as the lesser of several evils have shifted or, in their traditional form, quite disappeared. Victory has been deprived of its historical meaning in total war with the new weapons, for the "victor" is likely to sustain such devastation as to lack the means of imposing his will upon the "vanquished." And yet to accomplish this end, according to Karl von Clausewitz, is the only rational motive of war. Democratic participation or consent in a war decision is rendered most unmeaningful at the very time popular involvement in the devastation of war has reached an unprecedented maximum.

The history of war and man's attitudes about it should be reexamined in the light of these developments. Attention has already been profitably directed in particular to the question of how and why total war came to appear the "normal" type of conflict between major powers.¹³ Such investigation might reveal how military planning became divorced from political planning and war became an end in itself rather than a means of achieving more or less rational political ends. Given the destructive military capabilities presently at the disposal of major powers, it would seem to be more interesting than it has even been before to learn how and why powers have been willing at some times in history to wage wars with more limited objectives than unconditional surrender, total victory, or complete annihilation of the enemy.

That mankind should have carried the values and precepts of the age of firearms into the thermonuclear age represents a far greater anachronism than the one represented by his carrying the values and precepts of the age

¹³ See, for example, Robert E. Osgood, *Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy* (Chicago, 1957), and John U. Nef, *War and Human Progress: An Essay on the Rise of Industrial Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

of chivalry into the age of firearms. Anachronisms are preeminently the business of historians. The historic service that Cervantes performed with mockery in 1605, when he published the first volume of *Don Quixote*, three centuries after the advent of firearms, cannot with safety be deferred that long after the advent of nuclear weapons. Lacking a Cervantes, historians might with their own methods help to expose what may well be the most perilous anachronism in history.

On a grander scale, a third field of opportunity for historical reinterpretation has opened up since 1945. Too complex to be attributed to an event, it might better be ascribed to an avalanche of events, or a combination of avalanches. These avalanches go under such names as the collapse of Western imperialism, the revolt of the colored peoples of Asia and Africa, the rise of Eastern nationalism, the westward advance of the frontier of Russian hegemony, and the polarization of power between the Russian and American giants. All these developments and more have contributed to the shrinkage of Europe in power and relative importance, and thus to what is probably the greatest of all opportunities for historical reinterpretation.

In recent years historians and other scholars have coined some striking phrases to describe Europe's plight: "the political collapse of Europe," "the un-making of Europe," "farewell to European history," "the passing of the European age," "the end of European history."¹⁴ The tone of despair echoed from one of these phrases to another may well be called in question by the remarkable economic recovery and cultural resilience of Europe since 1945. Crane Brinton is to an extent justified in taking to task the prophets of doom and calling attention to the rising birth rate, the material prosperity, and the intellectual activity in postwar Europe.¹⁵ The end of European supremacy is not necessarily the end of Europe. The present argument, however, is not addressed to the question of the extent of cultural malaise in Europe nor to the validity of any of several cyclical theories of history. The point is simply one of relative power and influence, and no evidence so far presented disturbs the conclusion that an age of European preeminence in the world has come to a close. That age did not end overnight, nor does the explanation lie wholly in events of the last decade and a half, but awareness of the implications for history are only beginning to sink in.

¹⁴ Hajo Holborn, *The Political Collapse of Europe* (New York, 1951); Oscar Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History* (New York, 1950); Alfred Weber, *Farewell to European History or the Conquest of Nihilism* (New Haven, Conn., 1948); Eric Fischer, *The Passing of the European Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); Geoffrey Barraclough, *History in a Changing World* (Norman, Okla., 1956).

¹⁵ Crane Brinton, *The Temper of Western Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

Now that European power has dwindled or quite disappeared in Asia, Africa, and former insular dependencies, and now that Europe itself has become the theater for operations of non-European powers, their military bases, and power rivalries, the spell of an agelong European dominance begins to lift. It is difficult to realize how recently it was commonly assumed in informed circles that the world was the proper theater for European enterprises and adventures, that world leadership was a European prerogative, that trends and fashions in arts, ideas, and sciences were as a matter of course set in Europe, that European political hegemony and economic ascendancy were taken for granted, and that history of any consequence was a commodity stamped, "Made in Europe." The corollaries of these assumptions were that non-Europeans, apart from a few societies composed primarily of peoples of European stock, stood in perpetual tutelage to Europe, that non-European cultures were decadent, arrested, primitive, or permanently inferior, and that progress was defined as successful imitation of the preferred European way of doing things.

The significance of all this for historiography lies in the fact that much of the history still read and believed and taught was written while these assumptions prevailed, and written by historians, non-European as well as European, who shared them. Three of the most productive and influential generations of historians in the whole history of Western culture, those between the Napoleonic Wars and the First World War, coincided in time with the crest of European ascendancy and presumption. The generation between the world wars of the twentieth century generally shared the same assumptions. The contribution they made to the enrichment of historical scholarship is invaluable and should be cherished. But in so far as it rests on a set of assumptions no longer tenable, their work would seem to stand in need of extensive revision and reinterpretation.

On the needs for reinterpretation of the history of Europe itself it might be the prudent thing for an American historian to rely on the judgment of European historians, several of whom have already expressed themselves on the subject. Geoffrey Barraclough, for example, believes that "a total revision of European history [is] imperative." In this connection he has written, "Ever since the end of the war [of 1939-1945] a change has come over our conceptions of modern history. We no longer feel that we stand four square in a continuous tradition, and the view of history we have inherited . . . seems to have little relevance to our current problems and our current needs." In his opinion the trouble is that "we are dealing with a conception of European history which is out of focus and therefore misleading, because of the

false emphasis and isolated prominence it gives to Western Europe, and which therefore needs revising not merely in its recent phases, but at every turn from the early middle ages onward.”¹⁶

American historians will also have some reinterpreting to do, for in this as in so much of American cultural life, ideas were shaped by European examples and models. It should go without saying that American civilization is European derived. But the models of Europe-centered world history would seem to have restrained American historians from exploring the influence of their country upon European history and that of the world in general. There have been a few exceptions to the rule. One exception is R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, which demonstrates that an age traditionally called European shows the profound impact of the American Revolution on Europe. Another suggestive interpretation of the American influence on European history is Walter P. Webb, *The Great Frontier*, and yet another is Halvdan Koht, *The American Spirit in Europe*. Other neglected American themes of European history remain to be explored. The influence of European immigration on American history has received much attention. But the impact upon Europe itself of the emigration of 35,000,000 Europeans in the century between the Napoleonic Wars and the First World War remains to be acknowledged except in a few countries and has still to receive its just share of attention in the pages of European history. The importance of the West as a safety valve for American society has undoubtedly been exaggerated. But the significance of America as a safety valve for Europe and the effect of the closing of that valve after World War I remain to be fully assessed. Apart from the United States, other offshoots and overseas establishments of European powers, including those in South America, Australia, and the British Commonwealth countries, will inevitably discover that they have not been merely on the receiving end of the line of influence, but have had their own impact upon European and world history.

The same assumptions of Europocentric history have very largely shaped the interpretation of Asiatic, African, and other non-European history as well, for Europe successfully marketed its historiography abroad, along with its other cultural products, in remote and exotic climates. We may depend on it that the new opportunities for reinterpretation will not be lost upon New Delhi, Cairo, Tokyo, and Djakarta, to say nothing of Peiping and Moscow. Already an Indian historian, K. M. Panikkar, has defined the period of European preeminence in the Orient as “the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History.” It began with the arrival of Da Gama at Calicut

¹⁶ Barraclough, *History in a Changing World*, 9, 135, 178.

in 1498 and ended abruptly four and a half centuries later "with the withdrawal of British forces from India in 1947 and of the European navies from China in 1949." In the time dimensions of the Orient this could be regarded as only one of several episodes that have temporarily interrupted the flow of ancient civilizations. Relations between East and West continue and even increase in many ways, but, as Panikkar says, "the essential difference is that the basis of relationship has undergone a complete change. . . . a revolutionary and qualitative change. . . ." The Indian historian concludes that "vitally important historical results may flow from this new confrontation" between East and West.¹⁷

One of the historical results to flow from the confrontation between East and West should be a new and revised view of world history. The ethnocentric, or Europocentric, view that has been held for so long a time in the West can hardly be expected to survive the sweeping change in East-West relationships. The "new confrontation" of which the Hindu historian writes is another event of the present that necessitates many reinterpretations of the past.

Three fields for historical reinterpretation have been suggested: the first occasioned by the end of the age of free and effective security in America, the second by the end of an age of mass warfare, and the third by the end of the age of European hegemony. These subjects have been suggested to illustrate, not to exhaust, the list of possibilities for historical reinterpretation opened up since 1945. A complete list would not only be beyond the limits of this paper, but beyond the range of present vision. The need for reinterpretation is not always made immediately apparent by revolutionary events, while on the other hand such a need may easily be exaggerated by lack of sufficient perspective.

It may be noted that the ideological war between the Communist and the non-Communist worlds, which occupies so large a share of public attention at present, has not been mentioned. It could well be that the cold war and the triumphs that Russia and her allies have scored will upset more comfortable and traditional interpretations of history than the events we have listed above. It is even more probable, if we prove as myopic about our own times as historians have proved in the past, that we have overlooked or underestimated events that in future times will be accounted of far more historical significance than the noisier events we have noted. In such a situation the

¹⁷ K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History, 1498-1945* (London, 1953), 11, 15.

experienced historian will always take account of two powerful historical forces: the unforeseen and the unforeseeable. It may well turn out that new satellites for the earth will prove of more historical consequence than new satellites for earthly powers.

At least two objections to the proposal of reinterpreting history in the light of present events, however revolutionary, may be readily foreseen. The first is that the past is inviolable, that it is or should be unaffected by the present, and that it is the duty of the historian to guard its inviolability rather than to invade it with present preoccupations. But this would be to take an unhistorical view of historiography. Every major historical event has necessitated new views of the past and resulted in reinterpretations of history. This was surely true of the Reformation, of the discovery and exploration of the New World, of the Industrial Revolution, and of political upheavals such as the democratic and the Communist revolutions. These events did not leave the past inviolate, nor the traditional interpretations of it sacrosanct. There is no reason to believe that present and future revolutions will do so.

A second objection may be that if the revolutionary changes used as illustrations represent such a drastic and sharp break with the past, they render history irrelevant and useless to the needs and concerns of the present and future: that history is bypassed by events and reduced to antiquarianism. The answer to this objection is that if history is bypassed and rendered irrelevant and antiquarian, it will be due in large measure to the view that historians take of their own craft. Writing nearly half a century ago with regard to the disappearance of free land and its consequences in America, J. Franklin Jameson asked, "Can it be supposed that so great and so dramatic a transition . . . shall have no effect upon the questions which men ask concerning the past? Nothing can be more certain that that history must be prepared to respond to new demands. I do not think so ill of my profession as to suppose that American historians will not make gallant and intelligent attempts to meet the new requirements."¹⁸

The new demands and requirements to which Jameson urged historians to respond now come faster, more insistently, and in more momentous form than ever before. The historian, along with others, may be called upon soon to adjust his views to another age of discovery and exploration, one that transcends earthly limits. He is already confronted with a "population explosion" for which there is no precedent, not even a helpful analogy, and little but misleading counsel from classical theorists. In science and tech-

¹⁸ J. Franklin Jameson, "The Future Uses of History" (1913), reprinted in *American Historical Review*, LXV (Oct. 1959), 69.

nology it is the age of the "break-through," when the curve of expansion suddenly becomes vertical on many fronts. Informed men of science speak of the possibility of tapping the ocean for unlimited food supplies, of curing the incurable diseases, of controlling the weather, and of developing limitless and virtually costless sources of power. Historical thought is involved as soon as men confront change with anachronistic notions of the past. Anachronism, to repeat, is the special concern of the historian. If historians assume an intransigent attitude toward reinterpretation, they will deserve to be regarded as antiquarians and their history as irrelevant. The historian who can contemplate a single nuclear bomb that harbors more destructive energy and fury than mankind has managed to exert in all previous wars from the siege of Troy to the fall of Berlin and conclude that it has "no effect upon the questions which men ask concerning the past" would seem to be singularly deficient in historical imagination.

The present generation of historians has a special obligation and a unique opportunity. Every generation, of course, has a unique experience of history. "I had the advantage," wrote Goethe, "of being born in a time when the world was agitated by great movements, which have continued during my long life." But it is doubtful that any previous generation has witnessed quite the sweep and scope of change experienced by those who have a living memory of the two world wars of the twentieth century and the events that have followed. They carry with them into the new order a personal experience of the old. Americans among them will remember a time when security was assumed to be a natural right, free and unchallengeable. Among them also will be men of many nations who manned the ships and fought the battles of another age of warfare. And nearly all of this generation of historians will have been educated to believe that European culture was Civilization and that non-European races, if not natively inferior, were properly under perpetual tutelage. They will be the only generation of historians in history who will be able to interpret the old order to the new order with the advantage and authority derived from firsthand knowledge of the two ages and participation in both.

The historian sometimes forgets that he has professional problems in common with all storytellers. Of late he has tended to forget the most essential one of these—the problem of keeping his audience interested. So long as the story he had to tell contained no surprises, no unexpected turn of events, and lacked the elemental quality of suspense, the historian found his audience limited mainly to other historians, or captive students. While the newly dawned era adds new problems of its own to the historian's burden, it

is lavish with its gifts of surprise and suspense for the use of the storyteller. If there are any readily recognizable characteristics of the new era, they are the fortuitous, the unpredictable, the adventitious, and the dynamic—all of them charged with surprise.

The new age bears another and more ominous gift for the historian, one that has not been conspicuous in historical writings since the works of the Christian fathers. This gift is the element of the catastrophic. The Church fathers, with their apocalyptic historiography, understood the dramatic advantage possessed by the storyteller who can keep his audience sitting on the edge of eternity. The modern secular historian, after submitting to a long cycle of historicism, has at last had this dramatic advantage restored. The restoration, to be sure, arrived under scientific rather than apocalyptic auspices. But the dramatic potentials were scarcely diminished by placing in human hands at one and the same time the Promethean fire as well as the divine prerogative of putting an end to the whole drama of human history.

Of one thing we may be sure. We come of an age that demands a great deal of historians. Of such a time Jacob Burckhardt once wrote, "The historical process is suddenly accelerated in terrifying fashion. Developments which otherwise take centuries seem to flit by like phantoms in months or weeks, and are fulfilled."¹⁹ He could hardly have phrased a more apt description of our own time. It is doubtful that any age has manifested a greater thirst for historical meaning and historical interpretation and therefore made greater demands upon the historian. What is required is an answer to the questions about the past and its relation to the present and future that the accelerated process of history raises. If historians evade such questions, people will turn elsewhere for the answers, and modern historians will qualify for the definition that Tolstoi once formulated for academic historians of his own day. He called them deaf men replying to questions that nobody puts to them. If on the other hand they do address themselves seriously to the historical questions for which the new age demands answers, the period might justly come to be known in historiography as the age of reinterpretation.

¹⁹ Jacob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom* (New York, 1955), 238.

The Historian and the Social Scientist

H. STUART HUGHES*

IN a number of years of teaching a graduate seminar in historiography, I have repeatedly been struck by the observation that the conventional debate as to whether history is an art or a science—whether it belongs in the curriculum with the humanities or with the social sciences—to the practicing historian makes no sense at all. As it is usually stated, this contrast implies a radical opposition, the necessity for an exclusive choice. It derives from a false notion of science and a false notion of art as two separate and logically incompatible paths to understanding.

Yet in their daily practice historians usually claim to do a bit of both. They think of their method of investigation as scientific, and of their manner of presentation as belonging to the realm of art. Thus the problem seems to be neatly solved. More closely regarded, however, this solution proves to be no solution at all. For as Benedetto Croce taught us two generations ago, in history the method of investigation and the presentation of the material—the research and the writing—are simply succeeding (and sometimes even simultaneous) phases of the same continuous process of thought: the manner of presentation is already implicit in the presuppositions of the investigation itself.

Now this continuous process of thought is what I want to speak about in the present essay. It will serve, I think, to suggest the link between art and science, and why history necessarily partakes of the nature of both, as, indeed, do all intellectual activities that try to combine imaginative search with logical order.

Just before the Second World War the younger generation of American historians began to grow radically dissatisfied with their craft as their teachers had imparted it to them. And it was precisely on this point of the process of thought in history that their dissatisfaction manifested itself. History as they had been taught it was an intellectually invertebrate affair: it had no clear concepts and no recognized canon of interpretation. In place of these, some rather vague notions about “causes” had to suffice. Alternatively, if the

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word "cause" was rejected as smacking of philosophical positivism, the less offensive term "explanations" might serve, or, more weakly still, historical "factors." The only intellectual rationale to which history could lay claim was the research methodology brought to perfection a hundred years earlier by Leopold von Ranke and handed on from generation to generation virtually unchanged. As Marc Bloch was to put it, the historian's scrupulous care in ascertaining whether an event had in fact taken place contrasted painfully with the amateurishness the same historian manifested when he came to explaining it.¹

This dissatisfaction among the young—this search for a more coherent and schematic canon of historical thought—has exploded simultaneously in two different directions. In the first place it has manifested itself in an awakening of interest in the neoidealist tradition of historical thinking descending from Dilthey through Croce and Collingwood, and in the more recent critiques of this tradition embodied in the short studies by Walsh, Gardiner, and Dray.² In the second place it has produced a new awareness of social science and of its relevance for historical study. It is more particularly of this latter manifestation of interest that I want to treat in the present essay. But as the analysis proceeds, I think it will become apparent how intimately the second interest is in fact related to the first.

Indeed, the same individuals among the younger generation of American historians have very frequently engaged their efforts in both directions at once. They have been equally concerned with social science and with the analytic philosophy of history. But to date this common interest has produced little in the way of systematic treatments. The mainstream of analytical writings on the nature of history has come from England rather than from the United States—and these have reflected the characteristic British hostility to (or perhaps, ignorance of) the claims of the social sciences. In our own country the historian's expression of interest in these fields has not gone much beyond the stage of programmatic discussion.³ The precise points of intersection between history and the social disciplines have still to be defined.

The purpose of the present essay is to suggest how a beginning can be

¹ Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien* (Paris, 1952), translated by Peter Putnam as *The Historian's Craft* (New York, 1953), 195.

² W. H. Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History* (London, 1951); Patrick Gardiner, *The Nature of Historical Explanation* (Oxford, Eng., 1952); William Dray, *Laws and Explanation in History* (Oxford, Eng., 1957).

³ See, for example, the two useful reports by the Social Science Research Council, *The Social Sciences in Historical Study* [SSRC Bulletin No. 64] (New York, 1954); "A Conference on the Social Sciences in Historical Study, June 20-22, 1957" (mimeographed, 1957, Stanford, Calif.).

made in this direction. It is based on two major assumptions. First, there is the one already stated, that the historian's search for philosophical grounding and his reaching out for contact with the social sciences are complementary and related manifestations of the same quest for precision in historical explanation. Second, there is the conviction that this quest springs from an overwhelming and unprecedented intellectual confusion characteristic of the present time. During the two generations prior to the Second World War, the scope of historical study grew enormously, both in this country and abroad. Economic, cultural, and psychological aspects of the past were added to the politico-military emphasis which—again a legacy from Ranke—had once reigned supreme. Politics, and more particularly foreign policy, had traditionally provided the central core around which the other historical manifestations grouped themselves: it furnished a rough-and-ready principle of order for the historian's marshaling of his data. But with the admission of so much new data, much of it unmanageable in terms of the customary procedures, the familiar framework cracked. Chaos threatened—a warfare for supremacy among the different specialized branches of historical knowledge, economic, social, and the like, with the probable outcome a flabby sort of truce in which the equal (and largely unrelated) claims of all were to be given equal recognition. In this situation of intellectual confusion and unparalleled heterogeneity of interpretation, a new principle of order was urgently required.

Obviously this ordering of data can arise only through generalization. And hence the problem of where and how the historian generalizes has established itself as the central one in assessing not only the claims of social science but also the canon of historical interpretation in its broadest sense.

Traditionally historians have adopted two radically different attitudes toward the problem of generalization. And this cleavage has roughly paralleled the controversy between philosophical idealism and positivism in historical study. On the one hand, historians have commonly dealt in high-level generalizations: they have introduced or concluded the individual sections of their labors with abstract reflections of a cosmic or moral character. Usually, although not necessarily, this attitude of confident generalizing has been associated with the idealist urge to trace the workings of "spirit" or "idea" through human institutions and to discern a guiding thread in historical change. In the opposite camp, historians have stressed the search for the minutiae of past events and the necessity for verifying the data at all stages of the investigation: they have been obsessed with the particular and the

strictly factual. This latter attitude obviously has much in common with philosophical positivism; it emphasizes the scientific character of the historian's method while eschewing any explicit metaphysical grounding. Yet we should bear in mind that it was Ranke the idealist who first codified the methodology of the historian's craft and that it was historical positivism (of the Buckle variety) that originally undertook to discover the "laws" of historical development. These crisscrossings may serve to remind us of the extent to which historians in both the major philosophical camps have faced similar problems in the intellectual ordering of their data.

Indeed, throughout the past century the characteristic attitude of the historian has been surprisingly uniform. He has done two things at once—he has generalized in sweeping fashion and he has given almost compulsive heed to the minute details of his account. Thus this account has tended to oscillate wildly between extremes: at one time it has soared into airy generalities; more frequently it has jogged remorselessly from one detail to the next. Between the two there has been little in the way of tentative synthesis or middle ground.

It is this middle ground that currently needs to be defined. And the way to do so is through drawing distinctions among the different levels of analysis on which the historian is in fact accustomed to operate. If we can reach clarity on the nature and uses of the various levels of generalization that are available to us, then the first part of our task will have been accomplished.

And so to the debate with the social scientist. The latter quite legitimately questions: "What principles hold true (e.g., as in physical evolution) for mankind historically?" or perhaps, "How can the generalizations of social science be applied to history?" To this the historian customarily answers: "There is no such thing—history deals only with *individual* situations."

Why this failure of minds to meet? Why is the historian so reluctant to admit to his colleague in the social sciences that he does in fact engage in generalization? I think that there are two explanations, the first of which is in itself historical.

I have already recalled the overwhelming influence of Ranke and his school on subsequent historical scholarship. It has been of capital, if perhaps "accidental," importance that the leading tradition in modern historiography was established in Germany in an atmosphere dominated by the individualizing tendencies of the romantic movement. The foundation of contemporary historical scholarship thus overlapped and partly coincided with the romantic revolt against the eighteenth-century cult of general principles. And the

emphasis on the individual and on the unique has remained characteristic of nearly all historians, even those who, like most contemporary Americans, reject either overtly or by implication the idealist metaphysic associated with the original tradition.

On top of this, as I have already suggested, the neoidealist current exemplified in the work of Dilthey, Croce, and Collingwood has been particularly influential on the younger historians of the past generation. The effect has been to reinforce the original precepts of the German school. Or, more precisely, it has been to soften the blow of self-criticism in this one particular spot. For here the job already seemed to have been done. The neoidealists had themselves, in the course of their main labors of rescuing historical study from the grip of positivistic pseudo science, tidied up what was naïve and outmoded in the original tradition. And this impression of a task already accomplished was reinforced by the fact that the older generation among American historians had not paid much attention to Dilthey and his heirs. Hence it seemed more than ever apparent that in the analytical or critical philosophy of history the main job that needed to be done was simply to introduce the wisdom of Germany, Italy, and England to the New World.

Now Dilthey and his successors performed an immensely useful task in clarifying more adequately than had ever been the case before the philosophical criteria of historical study. But they failed to see that in reacting as strongly as they did against the positivist equation of history with natural science they had thrown out the baby with the bath. Croce, whose position was more extreme and coherent than Dilthey's, in effect eliminated the key concepts of "causes" and "laws" from historical explanation.⁴

This positivist-antipositivist controversy, which shook the universities of continental Europe from the 1890's to the 1920's, reached the United States in only muffled form. In America as in England, historians generally have adopted a highly pragmatic attitude toward their work and have been uninterested in epistemological or methodological polemics. Hence most practicing American historians have been neither positivists nor antipositivists in any explicit sense. By and large they have retained the concept of "causes," while rejecting the idea of "laws." Thus the dominant attitude in American historical writing has been a kind of residual or truncated positivism. Uncharitably regarded, it seems to possess the virtues neither of the positivist nor of the idealist position. From the positivists, it has kept only the insistence on the painstaking and thorough investigation of "facts": its notion of "causes"

⁴ On this whole subject, see my *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930* (New York, 1958), Chap. vi.

is usually even more summary and unexamined than theirs. At the same time, in rejecting the idea of "laws," it has abandoned the positivists' aspiration to find in history a structure of widely inclusive explanations and to establish it as a sister discipline in close relation to social science. In similar fashion, most American historical writing has displayed little of the imaginative sweep and philosophical sophistication associated with the idealist tradition.

The second explanation for the American historian's reluctance to generalize is both temperamental and terminological. It springs from his unwillingness to make distinctions and his tendency to treat his problems as all of a piece. In his obsession with the principle of individuality, he has failed to realize that the use of generalizations in historical writing can be, and customarily is, on radically different planes, where differing criteria of judgment apply. I think we can distinguish four of these planes. They may be characterized in terms of semantic aspects, groupings of statements, schematizations, metahistory.

Semantic aspects are the simplest and commonest form of generalization, one in which all historians indulge, even when they are unaware of it. Generalizations of this primitive type are simply built into historical language in the form of verbs or nouns (i.e., verbs like "revolutionize" or nouns like "nation"). We need elaborate this point no further: the writing of history would be totally impossible unless historians were willing to imply generalizations and abstractions from reality by using grouping words of this sort.

Groupings of statements about events are generalizations that commonly occur in the topical sentences of the paragraphs of historical writing, or, in more abstract form, in the "conclusions" of a chapter or book. Although the authors may not be entirely aware of it, such groupings of statements *always do violence* to any one historical reality. Yet the more conservative historians find this kind of statement perfectly "respectable" and unobjectionable from the standpoint of technical method.

At the same time generalizations of this second type nearly always lack explicit recognition of the assumptions on which they are founded. Let me take an example from Gardiner, who is quoting a basic French history text: "Louis XIV died unpopular . . . having caused France to lose . . . the incomparable position she had gained by the policy of the cardinals [that is, the great King's predecessors]."⁵ This statement obviously contains a num-

⁵ Gardiner, *Nature of Historical Explanation*, 65. This example, which is repeated by Dray, is apparently becoming a minor classic in the field.

ber of assumptions about history, the French people, social psychology, and the like. Let us look at a few of them: there was a kind of public opinion in France in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; this public opinion expected the ruler of the country to advance the national ranking within the European state system; it was satisfied by the achievements of Louis XIV's predecessors; it was similarly disappointed when the Sun King failed to accomplish the same things. The listing could in theory go on almost indefinitely.

In actual practice, however, historians customarily restrict the groupings of statements of this sort to as limited a range as possible and refrain from spelling out their implications or their relationship to other possible generalizations. Thus, in the above example, the author is not interested in suggesting what Louis XIV's unpopularity implied for popular psychology in general, nor the relationship of his own statement to other theories of political rule, of elites, of economic class, and of social status. In short, when historians generalize in this second sense, they do it as unself-consciously and over as narrow a range as possible. But the wider implications are there just the same.

Virtually all historians indulge in these first two types of generalization. Most are unwilling to go beyond them to the two types that I should now like to outline.

A schematization is a fitting of the pieces of historical data into an organized form in terms of process or structure. By process we usually mean a coherent theory of change through time as implied in such words as "industrialization" or "urbanization." By structure we suggest a more static cross section of a particular situation in the past. On this third plane the procedure of historical generalization is close to that of social science. The order of business, however, is reversed. A social scientist states a generalization for which history is expected to supply data or examples. A historian works the other way around: for him a generalization serves as a possible organizing principle to be applied to the specific series of events with which he is concerned.

In general, historians have been rather wary of this third plane. Yet a number of highly "respectable" ones have made distinguished contributions of the schematic sort: Marc Bloch's study of feudalism is a case in point.⁶ Even if it is true that we rarely find complete works written on the level of schematization, it is easy to cite individual chapters or sections of books in which historians have proceeded in this fashion.

⁶ Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (2 vols., Paris, 1939).

Onto the plane of metahistory—the plane on which Spengler, Toynbee, and the other creators of all-inclusive systems have operated—almost no self-respecting historian will venture. My own view is that my colleagues have been far too cautious about exploring the suggestions developed on the level of metahistory. They have usually restricted themselves to a kind of literal-minded demolition, which is too easy to be particularly profitable. Once we go beyond this negative task, we discover that books of metahistory possess enormous value for the historian as imaginative reconstruction and poetic suggestion.⁷ I might even go so far as to say that the metahistorians, who are alone in a position to give free play to their speculative propensities, are the writers who actually operate on the “frontiers” of historical thinking. Their theories are seldom empirically verifiable: they are much too far removed from the precise data of historical events and they are much too heavily freighted with assumptions and variables. But as imaginative hypotheses they offer the indispensable raw material for subsequent criticism and elaboration.

In terms of the distinctions that I have drawn among these four planes, I think we can now shift to the more polemical question of how the historian's reluctance to generalize in an explicit fashion may be at least partially overcome. In a word, I suggest that historical generalizations need to be made more inclusive, and at the same time more explicit and precise. The way to do this is to begin shifting the emphasis from the second plane—mere groupings of statements—to the third plane—the level of schematizations. In such an endeavor we must be careful to explain at every stage what we are about. For I am convinced that much of the historian's nervousness springs from his unfamiliarity with this third level. When one talks of generalizing more extensively, the historian fears that one is advocating a direct leap from the second to the fourth plane, that is to the realm of people like Spengler and Toynbee, while he may not even suspect the existence of the schematic plane.

At this point, it is time to return to the terms “cause” and “law,” which, as we have seen, Croce and his fellows tried to bar totally from historical discourse. My own view of the matter is that a general or “covering” law (to use Dray's expression) and an exhaustive causal explanation are alike logically impossible. At the same time I contend that the only way to make a satisfactory approach to the problem of generalization in history, and the related question of history and social science, is to restore both these concepts

⁷ See my *Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate* (New York, 1952).

to the historian's vocabulary.⁸ And in so doing I think we should take another look at the sharp distinction ordinarily drawn between them. On closer inspection I believe we shall find them to be intimately related. For any coherent explanation in terms of cause suggests a lawful universe: in rather summary fashion, a causal explanation may be considered as simply an example of the operation of a more general law.

An essential initial step, then, toward more confident generalizing in historical writing is to define the concept of "cause" with greater precision. A moment's reflection will suggest that all historians use some form of this concept even when they do not explicitly recognize it. (The very employment of the word "because" immediately gives warning that causal explanation is at hand.⁹) When historians (like Croce) say that they are "explaining" rather than using the category of cause, they are simply engaging in semantic obfuscation: it was one of the great strengths of the recent SSRC bulletin on history and the social sciences to have recognized this confusion.¹⁰ It is high time that the term be reinstated (as against the idealist position) and at the same time be refined, narrowed in its range, and employed in more skeptical fashion (as against American residual positivism). I should like to elaborate on this statement in three respects.

In the first place, causal reasoning is obviously based on the assumption that human behavior is just as lawful as events in the realm of nature. Whether or not the workings of the universe are in any ultimate sense lawful is a metaphysical question, which scientists of all sorts usually answer pragmatically by assuming that it is so. Or, in more precise terms, they explain that in the study of man, as in the natural sciences in their twentieth-century form, what we call "laws" are not strict and universal causal generalizations in the old sense, but are simply observed regularities expressing themselves as statistical probabilities. In this contemporary usage there is no radical distinction between the two fields of knowledge.¹¹ Indeed, we may surmise that

⁸ Dray's position (as, for example, on p. 78 of his *Laws and Explanation in History*) is actually similar to mine, but this similarity is obscured by his insistence on caricaturing the arguments of others through his "covering law" model.

⁹ It is obvious that I differ from Croce and Collingwood—and even a more moderate writer like Gardiner—in refusing to accept their distinction between the search for "laws" and the ascription of motivation, between "cause" and "because." Dray's view (*ibid.*, 151–53) is again similar to my own, except where he shows a complete (and characteristic) misunderstanding of the insistence on the part of such sociologists as Max Weber and Talcott Parsons that an action can be viewed scientifically *from the standpoint of the actor* as well as from the more usual standpoint of the observer (*ibid.*, 140: "When we subsume an action under a law, our approach is that of a spectator of the action.").

¹⁰ *Social Sciences in Historical Study*, 86–89.

¹¹ Hans Reichenbach, "Probability Methods in Social Science," *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method*, ed. Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (Stanford, Calif., 1951), 121–28.

if Croce had been acquainted with the concepts of cause and laws in their more skeptical twentieth-century form, rather than in the dogmatic nineteenth-century form which was all that he knew, he might not have felt obliged to discard them in so cavalier a fashion.

Most contemporary historians, however, have followed Croce and the German idealist tradition in distinguishing human activity as a "realm of freedom," as contrasted with the "realm of necessity" characteristic of the natural world. This attitude, flattering as it may be to the individual's sense of his own uniqueness, has about it a mystical flavor, which obscures the real issue. If human behavior is capable of rational explanation at all, clearly there must be something lawful about it. Indeed, and this Max Weber was one of the first to emphasize, man never feels so free as when he is acting rationally. The essential difference, Weber asserted, between the natural and the human world was that in the latter case it was impossible to arrive at laws which would in any sense give a complete or exhaustive explanation of even the simplest human action.¹²

As a result, and this is the second point I should like to stress, the most satisfactory type of causal explanation in history simply tries to locate the factor which, when removed, would make the decisive difference in a given sequence of events—that is, the factor which, if thought away, would render the events in question inconceivable. Obviously a procedure of this kind suffers from all sorts of drawbacks. At the same time, if rigorously carried out, it offers more precision than any other type of causal explanation in common use among historians.¹³ Its unavoidable limitations lie of course in its subjective origin: to speak of a given historical factor as decisive means to call it such from no more than one particular standpoint (that is, ultimately, from the standpoint of some value system).¹⁴ Hence from another standpoint the events previously marked out as of controlling importance might not seem decisive in the least. What may rank as a satisfactory explanation for one person may for another be no explanation at all.¹⁵

Finally, the above procedure implies the possibility of running alternative causal sequences based on alternative criteria of importance, as Weber did in classic fashion in his studies of capitalism and religion. In this case, however, a word of warning is in order. The neatness and elegance of Weber's

¹² *Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences*, tr. and ed. Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), 78, 124–25. On this whole subject, see also my *Consciousness and Society*, 296–314.

¹³ Compare Dray's statement (*Laws and Explanation in History*, 105–106): "The judgment that a certain condition was crucial (both necessary and important) . . . is the standard historical case."

¹⁴ *Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences*, ed. Shils and Finch, 166, 180–81.

¹⁵ Dray, *Laws and Explanation in History*, 74.

treatment—the clear-cut fashion in which he set economic and “spiritual” explanations against each other—has obscured the complexity of the procedure as it usually presents itself to historians. Weber simplified his problem by choosing to deal with only two variables. More commonly, historians are obliged to reckon with many more. And these are frequently of a radically incommensurable nature. Only a kind of sleight of hand can bring them to fit together.

At the same time, this incommensurability does not mean that they are mutually exclusive or necessarily incompatible. Once again it all depends on the individual historian’s focus of interest. Thus an event like the outbreak of the First World War can be explained in several different and complementary ways. It is not necessary to argue endlessly over whether immediate diplomatic events or more sustained imperial rivalries or the intensification of nationalism in popular psychology or the development of capitalism into its “highest stage” was the “basic” cause. From one point of view or another, any and all of these explanations can lay claim to historical “truth.”

So much for the matter of law and cause. The foregoing treatment is by no means meant to be an exhaustive survey of what may well be the most vexed point in the historian’s whole conceptual apparatus. It is intended simply as a kind of reconnoitering of the ground—a summary of where the best recent studies in the analytical philosophy of history currently situate the problem. What may look like a long digression is in fact the logical approach to the question that primarily concerns us. We are interested above all in the third plane of historical generalization—the level of schematization, as I have called it. And my polemical purpose has been to justify and to further the development of historical study on this plane.

Now without some clear concept of law and cause in history—without the acceptance by the historian of the scientist’s basic assumption of a lawful universe—the notion of schematization would make no sense at all. It would amount to no more than an arbitrary game, to be played by each historian as his fancy dictated. Without some grounding in an agreed on and communicable concept of cause (however much historians might disagree on individual criteria of importance), the labors of the schematizers could lay no more claim to validity than those of the metahistorians. This Weber clearly realized, and his device for coping with the problem has likewise become classic. In an effort to broaden and to generalize the causal procedure he had earlier defined, he coined the term “ideal type” to describe the sort of explanatory construction that brings order into a vastly complex body of

material. As a conscious abstraction from reality—as a procedure by which a series of phenomena can be shorn of their more eccentric features and hence made comparable to other historical manifestations—the procedure of ideal-type construction is approximately the equivalent of what I have called schematization.

Here, then, we finally come to grips with the question of how the concepts of social science may be applied to historical study. Let me emphasize once again that they can properly figure neither as complete causal explanations nor as general laws. They may be applied, rather, as ideal types, or, more generally, as hypotheses of varying degrees of range and explanatory power and in a relationship of varying degrees of complementariness or contradiction to each other. For example, the central question of historical interpretation in the idealist tradition has been the ascription of motives to the leading actors in the events of the past. Customarily this has been done by some sort of “intuitive” or introspective procedure. Psychoanalytic theory offers a more coherent set of explanations, with which historians are just now beginning to reckon.¹⁶ In this classic area of what the German idealists call inner “understanding” (*Verstehen*) the application of Freudian and post-Freudian theory might well result in a wholesale revamping of conventional notions of historical motivation.

I have mentioned psychoanalytic theory as one possible example. Social scientists could find innumerable others. In brief, my contention is that by applying mutually interdependent generalizations of varying degrees of probability, drawn from the social sciences, with no one of them considered either exhaustive or exclusive, historians can begin right now to refine and to make more explicit their whole procedure of explanation.

Moreover, the discussion thus far has, I think, considerably clarified the relation between history and social science. While no radical dissimilarity in intellectual goal has emerged, we have found a very important difference in traditional procedure. The whole line of argument has presupposed that history will remain in its original literary tradition. It has further implied that historians will continue to draw up imprecise “explanation sketches” rather than to employ the narrower and more rigorous methods of social science.¹⁷ I should hasten to add, however, that this looser sort of procedure is by no means necessarily “unscientific.” It can become perfectly acceptable as social science if, on the one hand, historians are quite conscious of their own im-

¹⁶ More particularly William L. Langer in his epoch-making presidential address to the American Historical Association, “The Next Assignment,” *American Historical Review*, LXIII (Jan. 1958), 283–304.

¹⁷ See Gardiner, *Nature of Historical Explanation*, 91–97, quoting Carl Hempel.

precision, and if, on the other hand, social scientists recognize that the "explanation sketches" devised by their historical colleagues are impressionistic and require much subsequent "filling in"—that they are not susceptible of dramatic validation or invalidation, in the manner of scientific hypotheses in the classic mold, but are rather to be considered as rough outlines subject to very gradual establishment or discrediting. Should the social scientists insist that historians abandon this loose type procedure, I do not think that the result would be better history. It would simply be a narrower kind of historical writing lacking the range and flexibility of the historian's craft as it has traditionally been practiced.

At the same time the manifest (and justified) reluctance of historians to abandon their literary affiliations is no reason why they should not try to be more explicit about what they are doing and to attempt a number of things that they have traditionally avoided. Historians, as we have seen, have always made generalizations of one sort or another. At one time these grand hypotheses were drawn from theology; more recently they have been drawn from notions of "human nature" or "common sense." In past eras historians of a philosophic turn of mind exploited the most stimulating fund of generalizations that were currently available; it has been only in the last two or three generations that they have come to distrust the findings of coworkers in other fields. And yet within this same period the social sciences have been developing to a point where it is now possible to find in them a wide and varied range of hypotheses fully capable of historical application. Under contemporary conditions, these would seem to offer the natural reservoir on which the philosophically minded historian might draw.

And so the imaginary debate with the social scientist may be provisionally settled in the following fashion: since history has no generalizations of its own—since the only specifically historical category is that of time sequence—it must necessarily borrow its intellectual rationale from elsewhere. As yet, and for the foreseeable future, neither historians nor social scientists have been able to agree on generalizations of a universal explanatory power. Indeed, the characteristic mistake of the metahistorians has been to hurry this process. There is no reason, however, why the range of generalization cannot gradually be widened so as to build out from schematizations or ideal types a bolder and more closely interlocking fund of explanations in terms of process and structure.

Now a bald assertion that a certain amount of social science theory can profitably be exploited for the purposes of historical explanation obviously re-

quires much explanation of its own. It is not enough simply to state that this applicability exists; it is necessary to show, if only in fragmentary fashion, the approximate range through which such novel procedures can operate.

The first clarification, then, that I owe my readers is to explain once and for all that by "application" I do not mean any mechanical or one-to-one superimposing of social science theory on traditional historical prose. This is the commonest and most persistent misconception that dogs the trail of those of us who argue for closer relations between history and its sister disciplines. Once we begin to contend that the historian can profit by the example of the social scientist, we are almost sure to be accused of "selling out" to the professional enemy.

Here again the example of psychoanalytic theory may serve to illuminate the whole debate. Obviously the historian who wants to make use of the work of Freud and his successors is not obliged to give equal credit to everything they ever wrote: there is no need for him to swallow without discrimination the whole corpus of Freudian and post-Freudian writings. He may pick and choose. Indeed, there is no other sensible course when we are confronted with such a vast heterogeneity of theory, only part of which is susceptible of historical application at all. Thus the historian may well find that concepts like "projection" and "sublimation" are exactly what he needs to guide his account, while the notion of a "primal crime," as expounded in Freud's later and more speculative writings, is simply too fantastic to be considered. (Yet I might add my own impression that American cultural anthropologists have become far less scornful of *Totem and Taboo* and its sequels than they were a generation ago.)

Moreover, very frequently the word "application" is too immediate and concrete to describe accurately what the historian may most profitably do with the insights of his fellow workers in the social sciences. In many cases, perhaps in a majority of cases, he does not really "apply" them at all. He lets them remain in the back of his mind, without bringing them explicitly into the foreground of his historical writing. He does not parade his knowledge of social science theory: he simply permits his thought to be informed by it. This sort of process is approximately what people like Sorel and Croce had in mind when they said that Marxism would serve to "illuminate" the course of historical reasoning, long after its specific teachings had been refuted, "well-digested," or put aside. It is what a more recent theoretician of history means when he speaks of a "factor" that it is worth the historian's while "to be on the lookout for."¹⁸ A process of this kind subtly alters the character of

¹⁸ Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, 87-89; Dray, *Laws and Explanation in History*, 108.

a historian's work in ways that even the writer himself may be unaware of. To the unpracticed eye, his prose may remain just as untheoretical as in the past. But the new type of knowledge he has absorbed will actually have worked subterranean alterations in his whole mode of thought and expression: his choice of vocabulary and his explanatory line will be different, even though the cast of his prose remains irreproachably literary and discursive.

A second clarification has to do with the relative congeniality for the historian of the different social science disciplines. Some are clearly more adaptable than others to the uses to which the historical scholar would like to put them. My own impression—derived from a stay at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, which is currently providing an invaluable experience in mutual education for both social scientists and historians—is that the various disciplines rank on a fairly apparent scale of applicability, with experimental psychology at one end and cultural anthropology at the other.

Experimental psychology I have found to be the least adaptable to the historian's purposes. Its rigorous criteria of evidence and the narrowly defined level of abstraction on which it operates contrast so sharply with history's loosely metaphorical procedures as to provide almost no points of contact. At the other end of the scale, I have found cultural anthropology congenial in the extreme. Indeed, the approach of the cultural anthropologist so closely resembles that of the historian as frequently to seem identical with it. Like the historical scholar, the student of exotic cultures adopts a highly permissive attitude toward his data; he is perfectly happy in the realm of imprecision and of "intuitive" procedures; and he tries to grapple with what he regards as the central problems of the societies with which he is concerned. In this last respect, the cultural anthropologist, so the historian thinks, offers a welcome contrast to the dominant temper among his colleagues in the other social sciences. More and more the sociologists, the economists, and the political scientists seem almost exclusively absorbed with the sort of small, neat topics that alone are capable of being dealt with in a methodologically impeccable fashion.

It is with these that we come to the real point of difference and debate. And it is more particularly with respect to the newer mathematical methods that the final and most important clarification of my argument is called for. The vast development of mathematical "model building" that has characterized American social science since the end of the Second World War presents a more acute problem for the historian than was true of social thought in its older and more discursive form. The lessons of Weber or Durkheim or Freud

confronted history with no overwhelming intellectual difficulty. These were still couched in language close enough to the literary tradition to permit their fairly rapid absorption into the canon of historical thought. A mathematical model, however, offers a challenge of quite a different sort. In its substitution of symbols for words, its insistence on precise definition at every stage, and the closed and unequivocal character of its conclusions, it seems to fly in the face of more than two millennia of historical practice.

Thus the historian like myself who makes a point of adopting a conciliatory attitude toward the social sciences may find himself in this respect no farther advanced than his conservative colleagues. More than once when speaking in terms that I regarded as sympathetic to social science, I have found myself brought up short by the objections of my new friends. "It is all very well," they would in effect reply, "to accept Weber and the rest. But this sort of thing is now old-fashioned. You are two generations out of date."

Now a reception of this sort is quite likely to make the historical convert to social science regret that he ever made any advances at all. The natural reaction is to beat a dignified retreat to his familiar encampment. Or he may simply decide to laugh at model building as a quite impossible aberration of the social science mind. Between ridicule of the innovators and capitulation to them no middle course seems to offer itself.

Actually there is such a course, but it is a difficult one to chart. Initially we may ask of historians that they begin to learn something of mathematics, statistics, and symbolic logic—subjects of which nearly all of them, even those, like myself, who regard themselves as of a younger generation, are almost totally ignorant. Then at least they would know what they were talking about when they argued for the acceptance or rejection of techniques of this sort. Beyond that we might ask of them that they keep an open mind toward the possibilities of quantification, that they do not reject the notion of number as necessarily and by definition incompatible with the historian's craft. This is a topic on which I shall be enlarging very shortly. Meantime I should like to say a word on some of the more general and philosophical problems that the confrontation of the historian with mathematical social science brings to the fore.

I have stated earlier my conviction that history would cease to be itself if it deserted the literary and discursive mold in which its original practitioners cast it. By this I do not mean to suggest that such a "loose" approach is necessarily the best or only one for the discussion of human affairs. Quite the contrary. The very diversity of the attacks on similar bodies of data that history and the social sciences offer—the possibility of flanking movements and cross

fires that such diversity provides—these are our best guarantees against partiality toward some aspects of social reality and the neglect of others. Philosophical pluralism is almost second nature to the practicing historian, and he sees virtue in a situation in which intellectual variety is preserved. Similarly he has a particular concern for historical origins; he delights in the richness of the past as it reveals itself in the “accidents” of contrasting development.

Thus, in common, I think, with the vast majority of my fellow historians, I should like to defend the historically based diversity not only of my own profession but of the different social sciences as well. When sociologists or psychologists argue the necessity of establishing some general social theory, they are tempted to forget the advantages deriving from the varied historical origins of their own disciplines. Psychoanalytic theory—to take this familiar example for one last time—grew up in conjunction with the practice of medicine, and this clinical derivation has heavily influenced its whole development. Similarly the contrasting origins of sociology and anthropology seem largely responsible for the continued separation of two disciplines that work on almost identical subject matter. The founding fathers of sociology were either social reformers or academic theoreticians; the characteristic early anthropologist was a gentleman scholar with a touch of both the poet and the adventurer. If the present-day theoretical sociologists should try to force anthropology into a rigidly mathematical mold, they would squeeze out of it that very quality of intuitive suggestion and imprecision that has made it so congenial to the historical mind and so fruitful in its implications.

There is, then, it seems to me, an irreducible difference in approach between the historians and the model builders. And any attempt to reconcile the two must take full account of this radical diversity. We shall make no progress toward finding a common ground until we are quite clear in our minds as to the points that cannot be compromised.

To a historian all intellectual “systems” are open. To a mathematically minded social scientist no model is really convincing until it is satisfactorily “closed.” He puts all the “parameters” of his problem in terms of precise quantities to the very end that they will tie together and arrive at a neat and elegant sum. He taps “the great resources of modern theoretical statistics as an aid in empirical investigation.”¹⁹ The historian, on the other hand, distrusts such precision. Indeed, even the more social science-minded of

¹⁹ Kenneth J. Arrow, “Mathematical Models in the Social Sciences,” *The Policy Sciences*, ed. Lerner and Lasswell, 132.

them—the minority who consent to deal in “systems” at all—think of these systems, as I have already suggested, in Weber’s fashion as complementary chains of reasoning whose sum by no means exhausts the explanatory possibilities inherent in the situation at hand.

Similarly, as we have also seen, this pluralistic view of the social universe radically limits the historian’s tolerance for anything approaching a definition of the “laws” of social organization. I think it is significant that the only recent attempt at such definition to win even qualified acceptance among historians is one that emphasizes the “abstractive,” that is, the noninclusive, character of these laws and that limits them to purely “functional relations.” Any effort to arrive at a “global” or “holistic” law and to chart a direction of historical change is dismissed by this writer and by nearly all analytic philosophers of history as an intellectual will-o’-the-wisp.²⁰

Now I am not sure whether the efforts of the model builders, if directed toward history, would eventuate in all or any of these things, but I think that something of the sort is implied in their confidence that the human mind can quantify and thereby solve virtually all intellectual problems. This confidence, as I shall try to demonstrate shortly, is by no means merely feckless. And it can act as a bracing tonic to the skepticism of the historian, bowed as he is by the weight of centuries of failure to reach any conclusive explanations. At the same time the historian’s characteristic skepticism is both his weakness and his strength. To ask him to abandon it would be to call for a betrayal of his deepest philosophical convictions.

The characteristic metaphysic of the contemporary historian is what I should call a “radical nominalism.” Once weaned from the comforting abstractions of German idealism, he has settled into the conviction that it is only in the particular and the immediately verifiable that ultimate “reality” lies. This nominalist position was always implicit in one aspect of idealist thinking—in the emphasis that Ranke and his pupils put on individual phenomena and in their insistence on precise research methods. In contrast, the mathematical model builders, whose philosophical pedigree descends from positivism, look like starry-eyed Platonists. *They* have shifted the emphasis away from the nominalist features of their own tradition (among mathematically oriented economists, for example, one finds a certain condescension for mere “fact-gatherers”). And in its place they have put a faith in the overarching constructions of the human mind that is almost religious in its intensity.

To a historian these constructions are no more than creations of the indi-

²⁰ Maurice Mandelbaum, “Societal Laws,” *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, VIII (No. 31, 1957), 217–22.

vidual imagination. He ascribes to them no ultimate reality. They are explanatory short cuts, heuristic devices—nothing more. Now the model builder may object at this point that the same is true of him, that I have been caricaturing his intellectual attitude in order to present too neat a contrast. And in terms of his point of departure he may be perfectly justified in objecting. Initially, no doubt, the model builder sets forth on his intellectual quest in a frame of mind that is very nearly as skeptical as that of the historian. At the start he may think that he is attempting no more than to establish a tentative scheme of explanation. But as his labors continue, as he comes to have a kind of emotional vested interest in the product of his own mind, this construction begins to take on a “reality” of its own. Its architect finds himself believing in it in a fashion that is far more definite than what empirical procedure would ordinarily countenance.

The same thing, of course, can happen to the historian, and there are many eminent examples from the past to suggest how this can come about. But in contrast to the social scientist, the historian is armed against the temptations of intellectual certainty by an almost congenital self-doubt. To the historical scholar, the greater part of the social universe is a mystery, and he suspects that it will remain so for a long time to come. Indeed, he is quite content to see the realm of certainty limited to the well-defined spheres in which he feels that he can operate with a certain confidence. To the mathematically oriented social scientist, such uncertainty is intolerable: the unknown, the inexplicable, torment him, and he seeks some sort of solution at all costs. In this second sense, then, it is the historian who is the more religiously minded. It is he who advances more hesitantly into the realm of mystery. In this final regard, the original mystical-contemplative spirit of German idealism is with us yet.

So much for our metaphysical parenthesis. If in our implicit philosophy we historians remain back with Weber, or even with the more vaporous Ranke, it does not mean that all traffic with the exact and the quantitative remains closed to us. Quite the contrary. The sphere of quantification is, I think, the first of two areas of investigation in which historical study has already been pushed ahead by contact with the social sciences and in which a great spurt of further progress is in sight.

For at least a generation historians have been applying quantitative methods on a scale previously unimaginable. Statistical applications have revolutionized the study of economic history, more particularly in England, where theoretical competence in economics is allied more closely with his-

torical scholarship than is the case in any other country. The British have also taken the lead in the exploitation of statistical methods for the study of political history. Ever since the publication thirty years ago of Sir Lewis Namier's influential work *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, a whole school of younger historians, in this country as well as in England, have been dredging away at the material that Namier's book opened up. Biographies, economic affiliations, and voting records have been tabulated and cross-referenced to give a new precision and concreteness to the study of parliamentary bodies and similar elite groups. No longer are we thrown back on vague generalities when we try to write of a political or governing class: for many countries during significant segments of their histories it is now possible to delineate with accuracy just who the members of this class were.

These, however, are simply the initial steps in a perspective of quantification that is beginning to stretch out to infinity. For parliamentary history, or for the more established varieties of economic history that deal in price and income series, statistical applications follow a fairly conventional course. It is quite otherwise with the areas of human experience where historians earlier dismissed the quantitative approach as out of the question. Attitudes, mass sentiments, shifts in popular allegiance—such “qualitative” aspects of life once seemed condemned to a merely impressionistic treatment. Here the “intuitive” generalization or the apt quotation from some contemporary observer had to suffice. It was only when the sociologists and the social psychologists began experimenting with novel techniques for dealing with such matters in the contemporary world that historians were able to see how much had been missed in the standard literary treatments of the past.

Opinion surveys, sampling techniques, projective tests, content analysis, “scaling,” and the like are the new procedures with which the scientists of human behavior have enriched our knowledge of contemporary society and, by extrapolation, our understanding of history itself. For it is only half correct to object that these techniques cannot be applied to people who are long since in their graves. Obviously it is impossible to put questions or to administer a projective test to the dead. But one can learn from the results of present-day samplings to look with new eyes at the records of comparable events in the past. Such large-scale movements as revolutions and wars clearly show certain abiding characteristics, and historians have had long experience in applying to them the essential correctives that take account of differences in time and cultural circumstance. A rigorously conducted meas-

urement of attitudes in contemporary society has a direct historical relevance: it can illuminate the past through the new types of interpretation that it suggests.

Here once again the historian may be in no position to make a complete or mechanical application of a novel technique. But his mind will be informed by this technique—he will now be on the lookout for things that earlier would have passed him by. Thus he will be less inclined to think in terms of dichotomies, a Hegelian legacy, and more ready to deal in gradations and continua. And these gradations he will try so far as possible to quantify. He will have learned that the familiar use of adjectives in historical prose often already carries with it a crude kind of quantification. Hence he will be more prepared to substitute numerical ratings for words like “larger” or “smaller”; he will have realized that such ratings, no matter how tentative, will permit him to fit the historical phenomenon in question into a relationship of clear comparability with other phenomena and thus to enlarge his explanatory range. I doubt whether historical study will ever become primarily or even very heavily quantitative in nature. But I am convinced that some of the most significant advances of the next few decades will occur in this sphere.

The second area of fruitful contact between history and social science cannot be specified in quite such concrete terms. For this second type of progress that I envisage is a matter of synthesis rather than of analytical method. It has to do with bringing together the socioeconomic and the psychological dimensions in historical explanation.

Again and again in the earlier part of this essay I have referred to the methodological writings of Max Weber. I have done so, of course, because I believe that they state in a classic fashion that is still valid today the basic elements of the relation between history and social science. They have, however, one glaring weakness. Weber was almost totally ignorant of the psychological theory of his day, more particularly of the work of Freud, and when he traced his complementary chains of economic and spiritual causation, he was unable to enrich the latter with interpretations drawn from psychoanalytic observation. In his writings the socioeconomic dimension alone was clearly defined; the spiritual aspect remained in the realm of mystery.

Since Weber's day a number of social theorists, strongly influenced by the psychoanalytic approach, have tried to define the emotional and “spiritual” attitudes of large numbers of people in specified historical stages of the

societies to which they have belonged. Thus David Riesman has traced three successive "directions" in which the dominant ethos within American society has manifested itself; Theodor Adorno has outlined the configurations of an "authoritarian personality" in a contemporary setting; Erich Fromm has contrasted the relative emotional security that nineteenth-century society provided with the terrors and frustrations that have prompted a twentieth-century "escape from freedom." All of these interpretations have been impressionistic. All have carried a heavy freight of personal emotion. Yet their sum has suggested the possibilities of a new type of social theory that combines clinical diagnosis of individual problems with a bold typology of the sentiments of the mass.

Now the notion of successive stages in the history of societies is a very old one in political and economic speculation. We may think of Marx's threefold evolution from feudalism through capitalism to socialism and of Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* sequence, dear to three generations of German thinkers. More recently economic historians and sociologists have begun to refine on the standard German vocabulary: they have substituted some such term as "traditional" society for what Marx called feudalism and they have narrowed the definition of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century capitalism by identifying it with specifically "bourgeois" practices. To these two stages they have added a third phase of "industrial" society, that is, a configuration of phenomena uniquely characteristic of contemporary urban conditions.²¹ This third stage they have viewed as either capitalist or socialist: the older distinctions have become less important, as interest has shifted away from the question of technical property rights and has focused on such manifestations—common to both types of ownership in a highly industrialized society—as bureaucratization, a consumer-oriented economy, and the growth of a white-collar class.

A natural extension of this threefold typology of socioeconomic change would be to equate the third or "industrial" stage with the aspects of mass psychology that writers like Riesman, Fromm, and Adorno have found characteristic of the contemporary scene. I do not know whether anyone has yet made such an equation explicit. But it hovers in the background of much of the social speculation that is going on at the present time. In "informing" so much of our contemporary thinking, it suggests one of the major approaches that lie before us in seeking to combine socioeconomic analysis with psychological understanding.

²¹ See, for example, John E. Sawyer, "Strains in the Social Structure of Modern France," *Modern France: Problems of the Third and Fourth Republics*, ed. Edward Mead Earle (Princeton, N. J., 1951), 293-312.

Another approach, still more generalized in character, has already been suggested by the references I have made to the congeniality of cultural anthropology with the mind of the historian. The anthropologist has always dealt with a cultural totality. From the start his aim has been similar to the one at which the more imaginative historians of today have just arrived—that is, to grasp in a coherent pattern the economic, social, and psychological manifestations of a given society. For a long time the anthropologist has been trying to define “the fundamental and distinctive cultural configurations that pattern existence and condition the thoughts and emotions of the individuals who participate in those cultures.”²² Hence he has seen rather more sharply than has the historical scholar both the possibilities and the pitfalls of this approach. At the present time it is primarily from anthropology that the would-be practitioners of the newer type of history can learn how to go about their unfamiliar tasks.

More concretely this means some experimenting with the techniques of field investigation. A generation ago Marc Bloch’s epoch-making studies of French rural history showed how much the past could be illuminated by on-the-spot observation of contemporary practices.²³ The implication of Bloch’s work was a new kind of historical technique that would systematically extrapolate from present-day vestiges of earlier conditions—that would undertake a reconstruction of vanished practices on the basis of the traces of them that could still be directly observed. This sort of learning from traditions, from linguistic usage, from architectural and technological remains, was, of course, Vico’s unparalleled contribution to historical study. A century later it was brought to general attention and applied on a large scale by Michelet. But I think it was Bloch who first systematized the new approach for the uses of the ordinary historical scholar.

Obviously such field work, as Bloch well knew, could yield better results in the countryside than in the city. In great urban agglomerations the traces of the past are almost obliterated; in rural areas a trained and alert observer can frequently find them intact. Thus the application to Western societies of anthropological field techniques originally devised for preliterate cultures has worked best in small, rural communities. It is here that it has proved possible to discover not only the living past but a way of life whose salient features are still understood and explicitly recognized. In short, an on-the-spot study of a small community seems to me the best possible training ground for the historian whose mind is oriented toward social and psy-

²² Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston, 1934), 55.

²³ More particularly in *Les caractères originaux de l’histoire rurale française* (Oslo, 1931).

chological synthesis. And there is a model for such study in Laurence Wyllie's sympathetic account of a village in southern France²⁴—the work of a humanist coming only late in his career to social science method.

But it is far more than mere technical training that the young historian can derive from the experience of community study. More important than that, he can begin to learn how the group mind works, how individual reactions conform to established patterns. From observation of a microcosm of a wider society, he can gain firsthand experience that he can subsequently apply to larger social units both of the present time and of the past. In a small, readily comprehensible framework, he can grasp the nature of the thought and emotion that express themselves in standardized practices; he can learn to recognize the patterns of speech and action that embody a symbolic way of thinking. In most general terms, he can begin to grope his way toward the definition of the central, grouping symbols that in their infinite variety give meaning to human life in established societies both large and small.

To use the words "central, grouping symbols" is already to give the alarm to the methodologically timid. For it sounds like trying to define some "spirit of the times"—that cultural Lorelei that has seduced generation after generation of speculative historians. Or, still worse, it seems to be an expression of sympathy with Spengler and his ilk in seeking one or two prime symbols that will stand for whole civilizations. By my injunction to set forth in search of central symbolic configurations I have apparently thrown the gates wide open to the wildest sort of historical speculation.

Now such an accusation is not totally unjustified. As I shall try to show in a moment, I think that a frankly speculative treatment has a place in historical method that has not always been sufficiently recognized. And this, like the whole notion of defining symbols, has an irremediable vagueness about it. Indeed, these are precisely the points where the whole element of art and literature enters into historical explanation—an element, as I have suggested, that history more particularly shares with cultural anthropology among the social sciences. At one point or another history necessarily passes over from science into art: the main thing is to be sure that this point of passage has been well chosen.

I mentioned at the start of this essay the tendency of historical writing to oscillate between highly abstract and excessively detailed planes of interpretation. And I offered it as one of my purposes to seek a middle level. What

²⁴ Laurence Wyllie, *Village in the Vaucluse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957).

I have said earlier about "schematization" and the application of social science method to historical study has obviously constituted one approach to this middle ground. And what I have just now been saying about "central symbols" offers another such approach. For in this peculiarly "artistic" aspect of historical interpretation, a middle level is similarly aimed at, but it is a middle term of a less easily recognizable kind. Its characteristic imprecision obscures the things that distinguish it from what is vastly general on the one hand and what is merely individual on the other.

The sort of symbolic understanding of society that I have proposed does not undertake to subsume whole civilizations in Spenglerian fashion under a few key terms (although it may well be enriched and "informed" by Spengler's heroic effort at cultural synthesis). Nor, at the other end of the scale, does it try to delineate in artistic fashion what is highly individual and hence "picturesque." It seeks, rather, for something that is far more delimited and tangible than the former and far more generalized than the latter. It deals with real societies, real, that is, in the sense that their members actually feel themselves to belong to such communities and in the sense that some part of them can be observed and even lived in by the historian today. These societies are not brilliant devices of the historian's imagination like Spengler's much-disputed "Magian" civilization: they are smaller and more precisely defined, running all the way from the sort of village that Wylie studied to the national communities that literary figures like Leonardo Olschki and Rebecca West have tried to assess.²⁵ And the symbols that seem to characterize them are similarly tangible: far from being the product of mere excogitations of the study, they are derived from social and psychological observation and from practical linguistic experience.

But still an irreducible imprecision remains. And for this the social scientist or the more scientifically minded type of historian is inclined to apologize. In social scientists (anthropologists excepted) such an attitude is pardonable. Their whole professional ethos is bound up with the notion of rigor and "testability." In historians, however, it is less understandable. As I have noted again and again, the very imprecision of the historian's traditional approach has been both his fatal weakness and his most precious source of strength.

And so the point has at last arrived to shift over to the offensive. Throughout the bulk of this essay I have cast the historian in a comparatively humble role—as a learner sitting at the feet of his colleagues in the

²⁵ Leonardo Olschki, *The Genius of Italy* (New York, 1949); Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (New York, 1941).

social sciences. I have tried to take full account of the varied range of social science method and approach from which the historian can profit. At the same time I have attempted to mark the points at which the historian must refuse to modify his definition of his own calling. Now the time has come to let the historian speak out. I should like to conclude this essay by turning the subject around and suggesting one or two respects in which the social scientist may profit by the historian's example.

I spoke a moment back of the virtues of speculation. It is here, I think, that contemporary social science, more particularly in the United States, is failing to do its job. Since Karl Mannheim and Joseph Schumpeter passed from the scene, there has been almost no one both willing and qualified to take a total view of social change in our time in its broadest historical setting. The great tradition of wide-ranging historical and economic sociology has just about expired: it had its origin in Germany with Marx, and it was there that the Nazis killed it off by perverting its practitioners (like Sombart) or driving them off into culturally alien lands in which they could find few like-minded pupils. At the present time neither economics nor sociology is fulfilling this function. The chair of speculative social thought stands vacant. And in the absence of other claimants it is the historians who are beginning to move in.

And why not? If social scientists of one sort or another do not deal with the major questions of our time, then someone else will, and the public will lap up his work. If those who have been systematically trained for the task evade it, then the less qualified—the journalists and the purveyors of sensationalism—will take the matter into their own hands. The more imaginative historians know this, and they are quite prepared to assume the new responsibility and the burden of professional opprobrium that goes with it.

Such are the perils of dealing with historical problems of real magnitude. For it is only in rare instances that the sort of "middle-level" generalization that I have been advocating can attain any true scientific rigor. Most of the time the schematizations that the historian may devise satisfy only very partially the usual canons of scientific method. The evidence is too slim. The bridges thrown between one cluster of data and another are too shaky. The resulting hypotheses display only a partial internal consistency: they are full of unresolved contradictions. So much for the sins of speculative method; they are so apparent and so many that we need enumerate them no further.

Yet in my own teaching and writing I have found that it is precisely here that the contemporary historian makes his chief contribution. Very early in the course of seminar instruction, I observed that the most inter-

esting and important things that the students had to say were those which they could footnote least adequately. The really original parts of their papers dealt in alternatives and might-have-beens and all sorts of other historical possibilities of doubtful pedigree. Similarly in my own more informal efforts to explain contemporary history I have found that the vital and central problems are the ones that are beset with the most perplexing difficulties. The analysis of fascist systems, for instance, simply does not lend itself to rigorous comparative treatment: the number of cases is too small (only two full-blown ones), and the available explanations—mostly economic or psychological—are too heterogeneous in character to permit us to dovetail them in any unambiguous fashion. Yet I propose to continue in these comparative speculations and to urge my students to do the same. For I am convinced that it is only in this fashion that we can bring some sort of initial order into the appalling welter of “facts” that contemporary history offers.

An initial order—a first rough approximation at an explanatory scheme—this is the sole and sufficient apologia we may give for historical speculation. Only in this fashion can we make a mass of apparently fragmentary and incoherent data comprehensible to ourselves and hence communicable to others. As all natural scientists know, the building of hypotheses springs originally from imagination and “intuitive” processes too subterranean for the individual to trace. And the same is true of social science. Here the historian is at a particular advantage. His definition of his own calling endows him with a flexibility in this realm that is denied to social scientists in the stricter sense. The historian’s tradition of kinship with literature and the arts gives sanction and approval to the free play of his imagination.

History has always thought of itself as an inclusive, a mediating discipline. Once it linked philosophy with poetry. Now it is linking literature with social science. History’s new consciousness of its debt to social science need not mean a weakening of its artistic ties. Indeed, the contrary is the case. For it is history that can lead social science itself along the path of imagination and bold hypothesis toward literature—back to the realms in which it dwelt and prospered in the century and three quarters of great achievement that began with Montesquieu and ended with Weber.

The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130

NORMAN F. CANTOR*

THE second half of the eleventh century and the first three decades of the twelfth have long been regarded as an extremely critical period in the development of Western monasticism. Generally speaking, these eight decades witnessed the ending of the Benedictine centuries, that long period of early medieval history, stretching over half a millenium, in which the fate not only of religion but also of culture and civilization in Western Europe was in large part determined by the work of the black monks.

Several great scholars, among them Hauck, Sackur, Knowles, and Hallinger,¹ have made clear this central theme in early medieval history. It has been shown that St. Benedict intended to create a religious institution which would be a refuge for the more devout Latin Christians who "have lost faith in civilization but will not give up faith in God," as Dean Inge said of the early medieval mystics.² In the midst of a falling world, a widespread pessimism encouraged the conviction that the promised salvation could only be attained by withdrawal from society. But in succeeding centuries it became evident that the walls of the monastery could not effectively cut off the monks from the life of the surrounding society, as St. Benedict had intended. Early medieval society, so pitifully lacking in adequate leadership and effective institutions, could not afford to lose the labor and talents of the monks, nor could it fail to enlist in its service an institution that exhibited remarkable powers of survival in the midst of political disorganization.

Consequently by the Carolingian period the Benedictine monastery had, as it were, come to be absorbed into society. By the ninth century its mem-

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¹ Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (4th ed., 5 vols., Leipzig, 1906); Ernst Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser* (2 vols., Halle, 1892-94); David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1940); Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny* (2 vols., Rome, 1950). Also of importance are Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche* (3d ed., 2 vols., Paderborn, 1933); Georg Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters* (Munster, 1948); L. M. Smith, *Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, Eng., 1930); R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, Conn., 1953).

² W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (London, 1899; reprinted New York, 1956), 115.

bers were drawn extensively, if not exclusively, from the nobility³ and it had become a social institution of the greatest importance. First of all, the monastery had become a religious center for the ignorant and frequently barbaric inhabitants of the surrounding countryside serving, through an increasingly elaborate liturgy, as the intercessor for lay society with the Savior and the saints favored in the local area. In frontier regions like Germany in the time of St. Boniface, the Benedictine monastery was the most effective missionary center in the arduous work of imposing Latin Christianity upon a savage and heathen environment. Only a few decades after Benedict's death, that far-seeing leader of Christian Europe, Gregory the Great, realized that the Christianization of Europe could only be accomplished by enlisting the monks in the service of the whole Church, for within the monastic establishments were to be found the most learned and zealous churchmen of the age.

But strictly religious endeavors were only one part of the obligations and duties that early medieval society was impelled to impose upon the Benedictine monks. It is well known that the only really effective successors to the municipal schools of the late Roman Empire were the schools which grew up in several of the greater monasteries in various parts of Western Europe between the time of Cassiodorus in the early sixth century and that of Alcuin at the end of the eighth century. For only the greater monasteries could provide the teaching staff, the library, and the continuity that successful educational institutions require. Upon the monks indeed fell most of the burden of preserving a literate Church, and hence a literate civilization, through the study of the Latin language, selections from classical literature, and the Latin patristic writings.

In addition to these educational tasks there were, with ever greater importance especially from the eighth century on, heavy secular burdens for the monks. Despite their individual vows of poverty, the monks collectively, as religious communities, played great roles in early medieval economy. The monastic houses became great landlords and supervised the work of the serfs on their manorial estates. From the eighth century the monasteries were also slowly brought into the institutional nexus of the developing feudal order, and the abbots became the tenants-in-chief and vassals of kings and dukes with attendant political, judicial, and military responsibilities. In the growth

³ Although it is impossible to give any statistics on the social background of the monks, the fragmentary evidence does indicate a heavy preponderance of nobility among them from the ninth century on. Cf. Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche* (Stuttgart, 1910); Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III, 490-91; Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, tr. Peter Munz (Oxford, Eng., 1957), 167, n. 5.

of the most successful feudal states of medieval Europe, the duchy of Normandy and Anglo-Norman England, the military importance of the monasteries at first sight would appear to be small because by the middle decades of the twelfth century the knight service that monasteries owed to the king or duke was greatly surpassed by the service owed by lay barons. Furthermore many monasteries owed no service at all.⁴ But it is necessary to recall the situation in the earlier, formative periods of the Norman and Anglo-Norman feudal states. The nine Norman monasteries which owed knight service to the duke before 1050 could be relied upon to provide a contingent of over forty knights at a time when the duke was still struggling against the lay barons. Similarly, knight service was imposed upon only those monasteries existing in England in the decade or so after the Conquest, but the approximately three hundred knights whom these monasteries sent to the royal army were of great value to the Conqueror during the most critical decade of his reign.

It is well known that monasteries on the Continent as well, from the eighth to the eleventh century, helped the development of the most powerful kingdoms. The Anglo-Saxon monasteries founded in Friesland and Germany in the eighth century were vanguards of Carolingian expansion.⁵ By the end of the tenth century, through use of the institutions of the advocacy and immunity, eighty-five German monasteries were brought directly under the control of the Ottonian house. Their abbots were granted the power of counts in many cases and given the onerous tasks of local administration on behalf of the monarch, and the knights enfeoffed on monastic estates formed an important contingent of the royal army.⁶ The German abbeys sent 410 knights to Otto II's army in 981 as against 508 provided by all lay vassals.⁷ The German monasteries became so accustomed to such secular duties that in the second decade of the eleventh century they bitterly resented the attempts made by Henry II to reduce their worldly obligations.⁸

Nor could the monks avoid being recruited as royal chancellors or chaplains at a time when such a high proportion of literate men in Western Europe were members of the regular clergy, and kings chronically lacked

⁴ *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet (24 vols., Paris, 1840-1914), XXIII, 693-99; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (2 vols., London, 1896), I, 186 ff.; Charles H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), 8-10; Helena M. Chew, *Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief and Knight Service* (London, 1932), 4 ff.; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 608-11.

⁵ Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, Eng., 1949), Chaps. IV-V.

⁶ Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (Oxford, Eng., 1947), 34-35.

⁷ James W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), 40.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 62-65.

sufficient secretaries and adequate ministers to carry out the day-to-day administrative work of government. Indirectly the Carolingian monks contributed to the improvement of administrative process by their achievements in calligraphy which influenced the writing in government documents.⁹ Personally as well members of the regular clergy contributed their services in royal writing offices,¹⁰ not with much reluctance, for their secretarial services were frequently rewarded by royal appointment to bishoprics.

Finally, at two crucial periods in the development of the European monarchies monks were the chief ministers and closest friends and confidants of the kings. The roles played by Alcuin in Charlemagne's reign and Benedict of Aniane in the time of Louis the Pious were repeated in the close relationship that existed between William the Conqueror and the Italian-Norman monk Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. Not only did Lanfranc carry out William's ecclesiastical policy with great skill; he saw to it that the bishops and abbots performed their secular feudal obligations to the king.¹¹ The relationship between the Conqueror and his monastic assistant was widely praised and regarded as ideal. In the early years of Henry I's reign, the King begged Lanfranc's successor as archbishop of Canterbury, St. Anselm, who was another product of Norman monasticism, to assume the role of Lanfranc in his father's time.¹²

Between about 1050 and 1130 this dominant role of the Benedictine monks in the development of Latin Christian culture and Western society and government visibly altered and declined in fundamental ways. By the third decade of the twelfth century, in spite of the continued great prestige and wealth of the black monks, it was clear that the Benedictine monasteries were losing their preeminent positions both in the religious and in the secular life of Western Europe. This critical change had two aspects, involving both the internal and external activities of the monastic order. It consisted of new tendencies within Western monastic life itself and at the same time it comprised the transformation of the monastic order's relationship to society.

Northern Italy was the scene of the first stirrings of the eventual crisis in

⁹ For a recent and valuable discussion, see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Mensch und Schrift in Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1946), 146 ff.

¹⁰ The Carolingian and Ottonian-Salian Empires: Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (2d ed., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1912-31), I, 383, 385, 386, 388, 401, 430, 431, 432, 440, 467, 468, 476. England in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1913-56), I, xii, xix.

¹¹ "Reports of the Trial on Pennenden Heath," ed. John le Patourel, *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke* (Oxford, Eng., 1947), 33; *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold (2 vols., London, 1882-85), I, 184; *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs (2 vols., London, 1889), II, 361.

¹² *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt (5 vols., London, 1946-51), V, ep. 318.

Western monasticism in the late tenth century. Here new ascetic concerns and novel eremitic tendencies began to come to the forefront of religious life. By the middle of the eleventh century these strongly ascetic and eremitic impulses had assumed the character of a widespread spiritual movement in the area between Rome and the Alps. These new currents in north Italian religious life were to run deep in the following centuries and would culminate in St. Francis and the Fraticelli.¹³ In the mid-eleventh century they produced the feeling, among the zealous Italian monks, that the prevailing Benedictine life, now inspired and typified by Cluny and her satellites and allies, fell short of the monastic ideal. The most outstanding leader of eleventh-century Italian monasticism, Peter Damian, a former hermit and a precursor of Bernard and Francis as a great mystical thinker, gave due credit to Cluny's elaborate liturgical devotions. But he was deeply disturbed by Cluny's wealth and comfort and pointed out that the Cluniacs needed to practice abstinence if they wished to achieve apostolic perfection.¹⁴

North of the Alps a similar ascetic impulse appeared in the mid-eleventh century, although it never went as far as Italian monasticism in the direction of the eremitic life. The first significant change appears to be the founding in 1043 of *Casa Dei* (Chaise Dieu) not far from Lyons by a former Cluniac monk dissatisfied with the religious life in Western Europe's leading monastery.¹⁵ During the following half century in France and Germany there were several such rejections of the Cluniac model in favor of a more rigorous religious life within monastic communities less involved with society and its attendant obligations and temptations than had been the case for several centuries.¹⁶ During the first three decades of the twelfth century these new ascetic tendencies in the north coalesced in the formation and growth of a

¹³ There is no definitive study of Italian religious development in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and many aspects of this problem have not yet been subjected to detailed research. The following works are important contributions: Albert Dresdener, *Kultur und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Breslau, 1910); Heimbucher, *Orden*, I, 315 ff.; O. J. Blum, *St. Peter Damian, His Teaching on the Spiritual Life* (Washington, D. C., 1947); Gioacchino Volpe, *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana (secoli XI-XIV)* (Florence, 1926); Cinzio Violante, *Le pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica. I: Le premesse (1045-1057)* (Rome, 1955) and *La società milanese nell'età precomunale* (Bari, 1953); "Movimenti religiosi popolari ed eresie del medioevo," *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienza Storiche* (Rome, 1955), esp. the articles by Robert Morghen (333 ff.) and Heinrich Grundmann (357 ff.).

¹⁴ J. P. Migne, *Patriologiae Latinae Cursus Completus* (222 vols., Paris, 1844-64), CXLV, 858-59 [hereafter cited as MPL].

¹⁵ Heimbucher, *Orden*, I, 202.

¹⁶ The "Vitae BB. Vitalis et Gaufridi," *Analecta Bollandiana*, I (1882), provides illuminating insights into the new ascetic movement in the north. In addition to the works cited in n. 1, see Leopold Janauscheck, *Originum Cisterciensium* (Vienna, 1877); Johannes von Walter, *Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1903-1906); Henri Sauvage, *St. Vital et l'abbaye de Savigny* (Paris, 1895); Jacques Buhot, "L'Abbaye normande de Savigny," *Le Moyen Âge*, XLVI (No. 1, 1936), 1 ff.; and L. J. Lekai, *Les Moines Blancs* (Paris, 1957).

major new monastic order, that of the Cistercians, whose way of life was consciously and stridently at variance with the prevailing Benedictine pattern. By the 1120's St. Bernard, the most vigorous and eloquent spokesman for the new order, was thundering his famous criticism of Cluny's wealth, comforts, and even artistic beauty, and similar attacks on the Benedictines were made by other leaders of the white monks.¹⁷ The Cistercians were especially eager to avoid the social privileges and obligations that had come to the great Benedictine houses from their positions as landlords of cultivated and settled domains. It was believed that manorial estates worked by dependent serfs encouraged monastic avarice and luxury and made impossible that apostolic poverty which was a necessary aspect of the true religious life.¹⁸ The Benedictines were not slow in replying to such criticism. They contended that it would be unjust to expect the faithful to endure the privations that the apostles had suffered in the midst of heathen hostility and persecution, now that the Church had achieved an era of triumph and tranquility. They pointed out that the Cistercians, in their ostentatious self-righteousness, had not escaped the snares of pride, and they claimed that among the many white monks who had a genuine contempt of the world there were also "many hypocrites and seducing pretenders," as the great Benedictine historian Orderic Vital remarked.¹⁹ By 1130 a sharp division had thus appeared within the Western European monastic order.

As these crucial changes within Western monastic life took place, the monks began to lose their dominant role in society. The first and ultimately the most decisive development along these lines was their loss of control of higher education. The aims and the curriculum of the early medieval monastic school were narrow and limited, but they admirably served the compelling educational need of society before the eleventh century, the preservation of a basic literacy. By 1050, however, political, demographic, and economic growth had advanced to a point at which Western society could for the first time since the fourth century enjoy the luxury of a very small intellectual elite devoting itself to the higher, speculative levels of philosophy, theology, and law. In spite of the valiant efforts of Lanfranc and Anselm at

¹⁷ Among the many accounts of this controversy, the best is David Knowles, *Cistercians and Cluniacs* (London, 1955).

¹⁸ For citation of the relevant texts and recent literature, see Ernst Werner, *Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der Klosterreform im 11. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1953), 104-105. It may be pointed out here that while Werner's essay is based on wide reading and contains some valuable observations, it is generally vitiated by reliance on Marxist dogma. On the Cistercian program, see also J. B. Mahn, *L'ordre cistercien et son gouvernement* (Paris, 1951), 40 ff., and Lekai, *Moines Blancs*, 35 ff.

¹⁹ *Orderici Vitalis Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libri Tredecim*, ed. Auguste le Prevost (5 vols., Paris, 1840-55), III, 434-35.

Bec in the latter half of the eleventh century, the monastic school became too limited in its interests and too restricting in its organization to be a haven for this new elite and the center for the tremendous intellectual achievements of the following decades.

By the third decade of the twelfth century it was the municipal schools of northern Italy and the cathedral schools of northern France, the embryonic universities, that provided homes for the new higher learning. By this time also these schools were turning out new kinds of literate personnel for the growing administrations of the European monarchies: the shrewd, well-educated, and frequently quite ruthless secular clerks and civil lawyers who would obtain great positions in the royal governments of the following two centuries. The chief justiciar of England in the 1120's and the head of the most effective administration in Western Europe could see how the wind was blowing. Bishop Roger of Salisbury, Henry I's chief minister, was a semiliterate who had risen from an obscure Norman parish through the ranks of the royal administration to his great eminence in Church and state.²⁰ A bitter enemy of the regular clergy, Roger was determined that his two nephews, whom he had chosen to carry on the family fortunes, should have the best nonmonastic education possible, and he sent them to study in the school of Laon.²¹ One of them returned to become a valuable member of the royal exchequer, to be rewarded with the new bishopric of Ely by the King, and lived to reorganize the royal treasury after the civil wars of Matilda's reign. It was this Nigel of Ely's illegitimate son Richard, treasurer of England and bishop of London, who wrote the famous *Dialogue on the Course of the Exchequer*, the most important administrative treatise of the twelfth century.²² Nigel of Ely was the new kind of royal minister, urbane, professional, interested only in the welfare of his royal masters and his own family, a man very different in background from the monastic theologian and canonist, Lanfranc of Canterbury. Undoubtedly the simple, hard bureaucratic creed that his son expressed in the preface of his *Dialogue* was already Nigel's: "However questionable . . . may be or appear the origin or the method of wealth, those whose duty it is to guard it have no excuse for slackness. . . ." ²³

Simultaneous with the monks' loss of the educational leadership of Western Europe and their displacement as royal ministers by a new kind of pro-

²⁰ Norman F. Cantor, *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England, 1089–1135* (Princeton, N. J., 1958), 297–98.

²¹ *MPL*, CLVI, 983.

²² Cantor, *Lay Investiture*, 298; *The Course of the Exchequer*, ed. Charles Johnson (London, 1950), xiv, 50.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1–2.

fessional bureaucrat, the great religious houses were becoming less useful in another way to the more powerful monarchs. In the latter half of the eleventh century the Norman and German rulers' dependence on the military resources of the monasteries declined markedly as these able and aggressive rulers found new sources of recruitment for their armies. The imposition of new knight service on the Norman monasteries ended by 1050 and similarly stopped in England about 1080.²⁴ Not only was the knight service from lay fees now available in sufficient amount but also, as recent research has shown, the Norman rulers, using the proceeds from feudal taxation and later also from scutage, extensively employed mercenaries.²⁵ Similarly it is well known that the Salian kings relied heavily on their own *ministeriales* for military forces.²⁶

This decisive decline in the social utility of monasticism gave free rein to jealous criticism of the enormous wealth and privileges of the Benedictine communities. The cathedral clergy, now increasing rapidly in general influence through their enhanced roles in education and government, were the most vociferous critics of the monks, whose centuries-old privileges and possessions they coveted. And in many instances they succeeded in obtaining these for themselves from their grateful royal masters. By the middle of the 1120's the monastic scholar Eadmer, the secretary and biographer of St. Anselm and one of the leading Benedictines in England, was complaining in vain about the attack of "malignant men" from the ranks of the secular clergy on the whole monastic order. With anguish and consternation he denounced the secular clerks, who had become preeminent in Church and state and the wealthy ones of the land. Imbued with the new learning, they prided themselves on their position of authority and were contemptuous of "the poor in spirit," "the simple folk," that is, the monks.²⁷ The situation had changed rapidly since the time of Lanfranc four decades earlier when the influence and prestige of the monks in England appeared boundless.

These internal and external changes in monastic life mark the ending of the Benedictine centuries and therefore constitute a most important development in medieval civilization. To understand fully the nature and causes of

²⁴ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 9; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 609.

²⁵ J. O. Prestwich, "War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman State," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., IV (1954), 19-43.

²⁶ The most recent discussion is by Karl Bosl, *Die Reichsministerialität der Salier und Staufer* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1950-52), I, 46 ff.

²⁷ *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Henry Wharton (2 vols., London, 1691), II, 238; MPL, CLIX, 301-303.

this crucial change it is necessary to place it within the yet broader context of the general transformation that European civilization underwent in the eleventh century. Since the sphere of activity of early medieval monasticism was coextensive with all aspects of early medieval civilization, the crisis of Western monasticism should be comprehended as an aspect of the eleventh-century crisis of Western civilization itself.

This crisis, at least in its fully developed and decisive stage, took the form of the Gregorian reform movement and the investiture controversy. As I have stated more fully elsewhere,²⁸ the Gregorian reform and the investiture controversy constituted nothing less than a world revolution similar in many ways to the world revolutions of modern Western history—the Protestant revolution of the sixteenth century, the liberal revolution of the eighteenth century, and the Communist revolution of the twentieth century. By a world revolution I mean a widespread and thoroughgoing revolution in world view (*Weltanschauungsumwandlung*), the emergence of a new ideology that rejects the results of several centuries of development, organized into the prevailing system, and calls for a new right order in the world. As in the pattern of the modern world revolutions, the ideologists of the investiture controversy, the Gregorian reformers, aimed not simply at the reform of the prevailing system, but rather at its abolition and replacement by a new order. They emphasized the most radical implications of the Gelasian doctrine, the supremacy of papal *auctoritas* in the world, and they rescued from oblivion the aspects of Augustinian doctrine most hostile to the sanctions of secular political power, which the revered Latin father had called a band of pirates during one of his most dour moments.

The Gregorians wanted not only to free the Church completely from state control and from interference by laymen, but also to divest Western kingship of the quasi-sacramental character it had been able to use since the eighth century to bolster its inadequate popular appeal. The Gregorians, who for intermittent crucial periods managed to gain control of the papacy from the late 1050's to the end of the second decade of the twelfth century, intended to create a homogeneous new world order in the form of papal domination not only over churchmen but also over all secular rulers and hence over Western society. The most radical of the Gregorians even went so far as to revive the Donatist ideal of a purified and puritanical priesthood, a church of the saints exclusively, which was the heresy St. Augustine himself had attacked so forcefully six centuries earlier.

In 1059 Cardinal Humbert expressed this revolutionary ideology with

²⁸ Cantor, *Lay Investiture*, 6 ff.

eloquence, precision, and erudition in *Three Books Against the Simoniacs*,²⁹ a work that deserves to rank with the writings of Luther, Rousseau, and Marx as a treatise that has profoundly influenced the destiny of the West. Hildebrand took over this ideology from his friend and colleague Humbert and in the 1070's and 1080's as Pope Gregory VII tried to impose it on Western Europe. Gregory's only disciple on the throne of Peter, Paschal II, made another attempt in the first two decades of the twelfth century. Paschal went even further than Gregory in his conception of a new world order: in 1111 he startled his colleagues at Rome by apparently embracing the doctrine of the apostolic poverty of the whole Church.³⁰

It is well known that the Gregorians did not attain their ultimate aims, as all revolutionary ideologists have failed to put into practice their utopian ideals, but in the resulting bitter disputes, acrimonious debates, charges and countercharges, battles and civil wars, the early medieval equilibrium between the Church and the world was broken down.

This equilibrium had been the final result of the long struggle to complete the Christianization of Europe, by the imposition of Christian ideals on Germanic kingship and Western society. It was also the consequence of several painful political experiments from Clovis I to Otto I, which revealed Germanic kingship's great need of the moral and religious sanctions and other support the Church could give it. The equilibrium was established most fully and with most successful results after about 950 in the only strong states that developed on the ruins of the Carolingian Empire, the Ottonian-Salian German Empire in the east and the duchy of Normandy and later the Anglo-Norman kingdom in the west. With less successful results, the equilibrium can be seen in later Anglo-Saxon England, with its ineffective central government, and in the even weaker Capetian kingdom of France.

Put simply, the early medieval equilibrium was founded upon the cooperation and even more upon the interpenetration and identification of the Church and the world. As several historians have shown, the power both of the Ottonian-Salian emperors and of the Norman dukes was founded on the control they were able to exercise over the Church in their territories, especially the monasteries, and by the aid and support given them by the Church in the form of revenues, knights, administrative personnel, and the fostering of popular veneration for the pious ruler who affected to be a friend of the

²⁹ Humbert's treatise, the *Libri III Adversus Simoniacos*, which was published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de Lite* (3 vols., Hanover, 1891-97), I, has still not received thorough analysis and definitive study. It is a work remarkable for its combination of legal, theological, and historical erudition, fine dialectical argument, and deep passion.

³⁰ See further Cantor, *Lay Investiture*, 123-24.

Church. On its side the Church gained its patron's protection against the unruly lay nobility, the endowment of monasteries and bishoprics with great estates and magnificent Romanesque religious houses and cathedrals, the raising of the higher clergy to the front rank of the nobility, and frequent opportunities for the leading ecclesiastics to attend the courts and councils of the ruler and thereby to influence his policy.

It is not surprising to find, in view of this kind of relationship between ecclesiastical and secular leaders, that the theory of the identification of the *ecclesia* and the *mundus* was most popular precisely at the period when the early medieval equilibrium came to fruition.³¹ Since the ninth century there had been a growing tendency by ecclesiastical writers to describe the Church, regarded as the mystical Body of Christ, as embracing the whole world. In this view, there were not separate spheres for the *ecclesia* and the *mundus*, but rather the Church was the one, indivisible, universal Body of Christ encompassing the whole world. By the eleventh century this theory had become a commonplace not only for the leading thinkers of the Church like Peter Damian but even for a much less prominent writer like Bishop Herbert Losinga of Norwich.³² "The Church" and "the world" were frequently treated as identical and synonymous terms, and hence empires and kingdoms had to be regarded as entities not outside the Church but rather within its universal bounds. In view of the actual prevailing relationship between the Church and kingship in Western Europe, this theory of the absorption of the secular into the spiritual realm seemed entirely sensible.

From the early medieval equilibrium, thus given a theoretical basis, the Benedictine monasteries benefited enormously in terms of numbers, wealth, and influence. As the acknowledged leader of Western monasticism, Cluny perhaps gained the most and by the eleventh century had become inflexibly dedicated to the preservation of the prevailing system. It is true that Cluny had been founded as a religious house subject to the pope alone and free from any lay control or interference, and that she always retained these privileged exemptions, due partly to her fortunate location in Burgundy where there was no strong central lay authority. It is true also that Odo, the first great abbot of Cluny, in the second quarter of the tenth century, proclaimed Cluny's free status as the ideal form of monastic organization.³³ But

³¹ See the important studies by Gerhart Ladner on this subject: *Theologie und Politik vor dem Investiturstreit* (Baden, 1936); "Aspects of Medieval Thought on Church and State," *Review of Politics*, IX (No. 4, 1947), 407-408; "The Concepts of 'Ecclesia' and 'Christianitas,'" *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificae*, XVIII (Nos. 50-57, 1954), 49 ff.

³² *The Life, Letters, and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga*, ed. E. M. Goulbourn and Henry Symonds (2 vols., London, 1878), II, 101, 320, 413.

³³ Kassius Hallinger, "Zur geistigen Welt der Anfänge Klunys," *Deutsches Archiv*, X (No. 2, 1954), 440-41.

his successors did not press hard for the application of Odo's ideal; instead they acquiesced readily in the building up of the medieval equilibrium. Cluny eagerly sent out her sons to lead, staff, or found the German houses for which Henry III and other Salians acted as patrons. Similarly, it was a Cluniac abbot, William of Volpiano, who came from Dijon early in the eleventh century to lead the great monastic revival in Normandy, which was conducted entirely under the patronage and careful supervision of Duke Richard II.³⁴

The German Emperor and the Norman Duke, the ablest rulers of their age, exhibited great respect and devotion toward the abbot of Cluny who had become the most influential elder statesman of the Church at a time when the papacy was being rescued by Henry III from the clutches of the gangster Roman nobility. On the other hand, the abbot of Cluny could only look with respect, gratitude, and admiration on the friends of the Church who ruled the powerful states of Germany and Normandy. His disciples and allies who held great abbacies in these countries necessarily had the same attitude toward the patrons of their religious houses. Hence the Cluniacs were induced to accept readily, perhaps even to encourage, the entrenchment of the doctrine of theocratic kingship in Germany, and to lead in spreading the veneration of the ruler as the patron and friend of the Church even in Normandy, where such traditions had hitherto been lacking.

In these ways, then, the Benedictine order, especially Cluny and her dependencies and allies, had come by the mid-eleventh century to play a most important part in the interpenetration of the Church and the world. Behind the contemporary theory of the identification of *ecclesia* and *mundus* was the reality of Benedictine cooperation with leaders of lay society. The monastic order became the keystone of the early medieval equilibrium.

The benefits the Church derived from the equilibrium finally affected the papacy itself in the late 1040's. The outstanding leader of Western Christendom, Emperor Henry III, taking with complete seriousness the powers of *rex et sacerdos*, which he was supposed to have obtained at his coronation, set about rescuing the papacy from the Roman nobility. In 1049 he placed on the papal throne one of his own kinsmen, the best German bishop he could find for restoration of papal prestige and reformation of the papal court. The astounding result is well known. The younger churchmen from Lorraine and northern Italy whom Leo IX and his immediate successors recruited for

³⁴ On William of Volpiano (or of Dijon), see Watkin Williams in *Downside Review*, XLII (No. 4, 1934), 520-44; Cantor, *Lay Investiture*, 21 ff.

the college of cardinals in the mid-eleventh century became the revolutionary ideologists who unleashed the attack on the early medieval equilibrium.

This development is all the more surprising and disturbing if it is remembered that the controversy that followed was to a large extent a series of disputes within the ranks of the monastic order itself, which had become so much involved with the maintenance of the world order the Gregorians were trying to overthrow. Both the revolutionaries in the Roman *curia* and their ablest critics in various parts of Western Europe were members of the regular clergy. Damian, the guiding spirit of north Italian monasticism, was praising Henry III's piety in the 1040's and baldly stating that the Emperor had received a divine dispensation to set in order the affairs of the Roman Church. Just before his death in 1072, Damian was threatening Henry III's son and successor with the prospect of papal deposition,³⁵ which another monk, Gregory VII, would carry out three years later. Cardinal Humbert, who came to Rome from Lorraine, had originally been a member of a monastic community with Cluniac affiliations.³⁶ Yet before his death in 1061 Humbert was the spokesman for the most radical doctrines in the papal *curia*.

In the following half century an astonished and dismayed Europe was to witness such unseemly sights as the many German Benedictines who remained loyal to Henry IV trying to appease their consciences by joining the court bishops and the King in their famous denunciation of Gregory VII as a "false monk."³⁷ The abbot of Fulda, the most venerable monastery in Germany, became the head of Henry IV's chancery in 1089 and remained in office to serve his son.³⁸ A monk of the French royal abbey of Fleury, which had been reformed by Cluniacs in the tenth century and which remained a close ally of Cluny, published a lengthy treatise specifically attacking the doctrines that Gregory VII had expounded in his famous letter to Hermann of Metz. Hugh of Fleury presented a theory of relationship between the *sacerdotium* and the *regnum* that justified the Cluniac reliance on royal power: king and priest ought to work together for the welfare of the Church. But for the sake of right order and the preservation of discipline, the royal majesty must be regarded as superior to the priestly dignity.³⁹

³⁵ Cf. *Liber Gratissimus*, Chap. xxxviii, in *Libelli de Lite*, I, 71, with MPL, CXLIV, 437-42.

³⁶ Hallinger, "Zur geistigen Welt," 440.

³⁷ *Die Briefe Heinrichs IV.*, ed. Carl Erdmann (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [hereafter cited as MGH], *Deutsches Mittelalter* [Leipzig, 1937]), 15.

³⁸ Bresslau, *Handbuch*, I, 476. He was rewarded by appointment to the archbishopric of Mainz.

³⁹ *Hugonis Monachi Floriacensis Tractatus de Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate*, *Libelli de Lite*, II, 465 ff. See esp. 467, lines 25-31; 468, lines 27-31.

The two most widely respected churchmen of the 1070's and 1080's, Abbot Hugh of Cluny and Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, who had been the head of the monastic school at Bec, adopted what was at best a cool neutrality toward the Pope whose methods and motives they at bottom distrusted. In 1077, as is well known, it was the intercession of the abbot of Cluny at Canossa that helped to bring about Gregory's first defeat, his reluctant absolution of the supposedly penitent King.⁴⁰ Hugh's intercession at Canossa was by no means fortuitous or insignificant; from the very beginning of Gregory's pontificate there had been a series of quarrels between the two Church leaders, ultimately related not only to markedly different temperaments but also to sharp disagreements on the nature of Church-state relations.⁴¹ In 1079 Gregory baldly stated, in a letter to the abbot of Cluny, that Hugh seemed to have a poor opinion of the Pope's views and did not appear to want to obey the orders of the apostolic see.⁴² By 1080 Pope and abbot apparently had reached an impasse and broken off relations with each other, for no letter passed between them in the remaining five years of Gregory's life.⁴³ Lanfranc of Canterbury likewise was slowly forced to conclude that Gregory was a dangerous man and his policy mistaken. He firmly rejected Gregory's repeated summonses to Rome, and by the end of Gregory's pontificate was wavering in his allegiance to the Pope. Shortly before his death in 1089, Lanfranc was secretly negotiating with the antipope Wibert, the puppet of the German ruler.⁴⁴

The troubled pontificate of Lanfranc's successor as archbishop of Canterbury, the abbot of Bec St. Anselm, demonstrated anew the deep divisions within the monastic order. For St. Anselm was at least a moderate supporter of the Gregorian reform program; his closest friend was Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, Gregory's legate and leader of the radical Gregorians in France. In attempting to introduce some of the Gregorian reforms into England in the 1090's, Anselm found that his bitterest opponent, next to the King, was another former Norman monk, William of St. Calais, bishop of Durham.⁴⁵ And when Anselm turned toward Rome he now found a Cluniac pope on the throne of Peter, Urban II. This new Cluniac pope, in a bewildering re-

⁴⁰ Gerold Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbucher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.* (7 vols., Leipzig, 1890-1909), II, 758.

⁴¹ Smith, *Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 66-82, presents detailed evidence to show that Hugh and Gregory VII sharply disagreed on important issues.

⁴² *Das Register Gregors VII.*, ed. Eric Caspar (MGH, *Epistolae Selectae* [2 vols., Berlin, 1920]), II, 423-44.

⁴³ Smith, *Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 79.

⁴⁴ *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles (2 vols., London, 1844), I, 32-33, 79; Felix Liebermann, "Lanfranc and the Anti-Pope," *English Historical Review*, XVI (No. 2, 1901), 328 ff.; Paul Kehr in *Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin. Sitzungsberichte* (Berlin, 1921), LXXII, 355-68.

⁴⁵ Cantor, *Lay Investiture*, Chap. I, pt. 6; Chap. II, pts. 1-4.

versal of papal policy, refused to support Anselm in any way, made concordats with the rulers of the powerful Norman states, William II of England and Roger I of Sicily, giving them complete legal authority over the churches in their kingdoms, and launched the First Crusade in an attempt to restore peace in Europe and to end the bitter war between the *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.⁴⁶ Desperately Anselm appealed to his old friend Hugh of Cluny for support, but received none whatsoever.⁴⁷

In view of such evidence as this, it is apparent that the older view, now largely discredited, that the Cluniac movement directly inspired the Gregorian reform was not only naïve but almost the complete opposite of the truth. The Gregorians revolted against the medieval equilibrium and hence against many things that eleventh-century Cluny and its allies represented.

What then were the origin and cause of the Gregorian reform movement which brought about the decisive turning point in medieval history? Anyone who has tried to comprehend the causes and initial stages of the modern world revolutions will not be surprised at the difficulty of determining those of the medieval world revolution. Many aspects of this problem have not yet been subjected to intensive research. In particular, very few eleventh-century ecclesiastical leaders have been accorded definitive biographical studies. But knowledge of the period has advanced far enough to reveal, at least in outline, the revolution's origins.

The Gregorian reform movement was the logical outcome, but by no means the inevitable and absolutely necessary outcome, of the early medieval equilibrium itself. As the Church in the late tenth and eleventh centuries penetrated more and more into the world, imposing its ideals upon lay society, it began to face the dangerous possibility of losing its distinctive identity and hence its leadership in Western society. For as lay piety steadily increased throughout Western Europe, the special qualities of the clergy stood out less clearly. No longer did a devout attitude to dogma and ritual and the veneration of the saints and their relics suffice to distinguish the outlook of ecclesiastic and layman. By the middle of the eleventh century it was apparent that lay piety had in many cases attained the level of religious devotion hitherto only exhibited by the more conscientious among the clergy. Peter Damian, so frequently serving in his writings as a sort of barometric indicator of eleventh-century attitudes, observed that every faithful Christian was a microcosm of the whole Church: "Each of the faithful seems to be, as it were, a lesser church."⁴⁸ If the Holy Spirit, Damian asserted, raised some

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. II, pt. 5; Chap. III, pts. 1-3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III-12, 125.

⁴⁸ *MPL*, CXLV, 239D.

of the faithful to the ministry of ecclesiastical dignity, it was to be expected that these ministers of God would reveal their special divine gifts by a superior form of religious life. Above all should the monks, who had professed the most perfect religious life, act as the militia of Christ.⁴⁹

The great increase in lay piety created a new problem for the Church, and its own traditional hierocratic doctrine, here reflected in Damian's statement, made the problem particularly urgent. The power of the priesthood and the papacy had been built upon the principle that "him to whom more is given, from him more will be demanded." Previously there was no doubt that more in the way of the spirit was demanded from the clergy; hence the justification of sacerdotal powers. Now doubts were arising on this issue. To many eleventh-century churchmen it seemed that only a greatly improved morality and heightened religious fervor among the clergy could continue to justify the exclusive powers of the *sacerdotium*. Otherwise the *ecclesia* would be absorbed into the thoroughly Christianized *mundus*, and the clergy would lose their distinctive position in society.

By the middle of the eleventh century churchmen everywhere in Western Europe were encountering this new critical problem. They knew that kings like Henry III of Germany and Edward the Confessor were monks in worldly garb, always eager to lead the procession in a translation of holy relics. They found many nobles who took seriously the Peace of God, who endowed monasteries and cathedrals, undertook arduous pilgrimages, and hoped to be accorded the privilege of dying enshrouded in the monastic habit. Even the scurvy bourgeois gave glimpses of falling in with this new tendency, with their support of municipal churches and their devotion to religious festivals. Such laymen would expect a clergy still as morally superior to themselves as in the old days when society was savage and heathen, save in the most nominal sense. The hold of the Church over lay society, the universal respect that the monks especially received from laymen, could only be maintained by a greatly enhanced piety and morality among the clergy themselves.

The first reaction to this situation came in the form of the eremitic and new ascetic movements within the monastic order. It was believed that the wealth and power of the great Benedictine communities were a source of temptation to their members, leading them away from complete realization of the monastic ideal. The solution, either for the hermits or the new more ascetic communities, was strict subjection to the vow of poverty: the return

⁴⁹ *Libelli de Lite*, I, 37; *MPL*, CXLIV, 921. See also Blum, *St. Peter Damian*, 101-103.

to the spiritual ideal of the apostolic Church. In this respect, as in most others, Damian showed the way for the Cistercians and others of similar attitude: "Behold, we not only abandon nobler occupations and worldly gain, but we have made profession of a perpetual renunciation of these things, not to man but rather to God."⁵⁰

It was only natural to carry this ascetic and purifying movement one step further and to apply it to the whole Church. Thus Damian devoted many years attempting to reform the corrupt secular clergy in northern Italy. St. Anselm, who stemmed from one of the great aristocratic families of northern Italy, in his younger days turned aside from Cluny to a small Norman monastery, where he expected to find a more rigorous religious life. In his old age he undertook the enormously difficult task of trying to reform the whole English Church in his capacity as archbishop of Canterbury. Paschal II, ending his career by attempting to impose apostolic poverty on the whole Church, had begun it as a member of Vallambrosa, one of the new north Italian communities.⁵¹ Cardinal Humbert appears to have begun his revolutionary endeavors after he realized that Cluny had come to ignore Abbot Odo's ideal of the monastery free from lay interference.⁵² By 1059 his concern for a morally pure priesthood had become so overpowering that he was driven to resurrect and open the Pandora's box of Donatism. Although the older and wiser Damian sensed both the practical dangers and doctrinal heresy involved in this desperate measure,⁵³ both Church leaders were motivated by the same concern for a clergy whose devotion and morality would continue to raise them above the laity, thereby preserving the identity of the Church.

The final step, logical but certainly not inevitable, was to carry over the ascetic and purifying impulse into the world itself. This was the origin of the radical Gregorians' attack on the whole prevailing Christian world order. Already St. Romuald, the founder of the Italian eremitic movement, had wanted to turn the world into a hermitage, according to Damian, his biographer.⁵⁴ By the late 1050's a sort of apocalyptic frenzy had come to dominate the outlook of several of the monks who held high office in the papal *curia*. They wanted to impose what Hildebrand called "justice" on the whole world. This revolutionary attitude can be explained by the circumstances of

⁵⁰ *MPL*, CXLV, 254D, 259D. See also Blum, *St. Peter Damian*, 92-93.

⁵¹ H. K. Mann, *Lives of the Popes* (18 vols., London, 1902-32), VIII, 7.

⁵² Hallinger, "Zur geistigen Welt," 438, 440.

⁵³ For Humbert's view, see *Libelli de Lite*, I, 108, lines 7-12; 237, lines 25-27; 238, lines 39-44. For Damian's position, see *ibid.*, 21, lines 33-36; 24, lines 27-32. See also the valuable discussion by Fridolin Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* (Rome, 1954), 107 ff.

⁵⁴ *Vita S. Romualdi*, *MPL*, CXLIV, 988A.

the medieval equilibrium itself, the interpenetration of the *ecclesia* and the *mundus*. If the Church and the world were identical and synonymous, as many contemporaries said, then how could asceticism and reform stop within the limits of the Church? For the Church had no limits, or at least its limits were those of the world itself. Therefore the Gregorian radical felt compelled to apply his puritan ideals to all aspects of social life and to establish a unified Christian world system—*Christianitas*, Gregory VII called it. After consulting the writings of Augustine, Gelasius I, Gregory I, Nicholas I, and other hierocratic theorists of the early Middle Ages, after collecting and studying canon law, the Gregorian reformer was driven, with all the reckless zeal of the ascetic saint let loose in an imperfect world, to try to remold society to fit the pattern of his monastic doctrines and laws.⁵⁵ The Gregorians' error, if it was an error, was to take the identification of the Church and the world with complete seriousness and to carry the ascetic, reforming, purifying impulse from the hermitage and new monastic community into the most vital aspects of contemporary life outside the monastery.

To many contemporary churchmen, sincere and devout in their callings, the Gregorians were not so much wrong as imprudent, naïve, provincial. In countries where kingship was strong, especially in Anglo-Norman England and in the German Empire, the higher clergy had come to respect monarchy in whose presence they literally stood with great frequency as royal counselors and ministers. The Gregorians, in contrast with zealous but sophisticated men like Lanfranc of Canterbury, were indeed naïve and provincial. Nearly all of them came from Lorraine and northern Italy, where royal power was weak and disorganized, and where no one, least of all a monk, could gain much respect for kingship. None of them had the opportunity to work in a royal chancery and to become acquainted with the personality of a Henry III or a William the Conqueror or to gain insight into the tremendous problems of eleventh-century government. Kingship was an idea for the Gregorians, something to be studied in Augustine or Gelasius; it was neither a brutal fact of everyday life nor a glorious sentiment as it was to the higher clergy of England and Germany. The Gregorians were learned, devout, brave, sincere men, but they were profoundly lacking in the wisdom and moderation that comes from years of intimacy with power and majesty—knowledge that cannot be gained in patristic literature, in canon law collections, or even by devotions in a monastic oratory. Men of such narrow

⁵⁵ For a somewhat similar view, compare David Knowles in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXIX (No. 1, 1956), 132–33: "The great movement of reform . . . aimed, and in part succeeded, in monachizing the Church, by putting before the clergy, and even before the laity, monastic discipline and monastic practices and ideals as the universal way of salvation."

background and hence also of outlook could not bring themselves to listen to the opinions of the greatest canonist of the age, the wise and shrewd Bishop Ivo of Chartres. On the crucial issue of lay investiture, Ivo argued that the doctrines of the reformers ought to be subordinated to the sanction of custom. Where lay investiture had such wide support among laity and even among the clergy that it could not be abolished without a schism, the reformers had better be content with a discreet protestation.⁵⁶ But the demands of Gregorian "justice" did not allow the recognition of the sanction of social custom.

The wonder is not that the Gregorians failed to create their ideal new order. It is rather that a very small group of monastic zealots and scholars could have created such an upheaval in European life that within five decades they had destroyed the early medieval equilibrium which had been the outcome of five centuries of painful struggle and experiment.

The failure of the Gregorian reform movement was of the greatest consequence for the development of Western monasticism. The Gregorians had drawn their initial inspiration and all their leadership from the new ascetic impulses and movements of the eleventh century. The Gregorian world revolution arose out of the carrying of the new ascetic tendency to an extreme but still logical conclusion. The reform movement's failure showed clearly that asceticism could not hope to impose its ideals upon society, to turn the world into a monastery with a universal abbot demanding obedience from all rulers. The Hildebrandine papacy had brought to the Church not peace but a sword, not greater strength but deep divisions, confusions, and doubts. Hence many of the best spirits of the first three decades of the twelfth century turned from the world and sought their peace with God outside the world in the new communities and orders, especially the Cistercian, which sought to withdraw from the world. Many of the older monasteries, even Cluny during the abbacy of Peter the Venerable, to some extent came under this new impetus toward withdrawal from the world. In this way the Gregorian doctrine of *Christianitas*, the unified Christian world system, was rejected in favor of the working out of a new kind of equilibrium between the Church and the world. This equilibrium consisted of men of God seeking their own salvation entirely apart from the world and leaving the secular government to laymen. Instead of the interpenetration and identification of the Church and the world, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries marked the

⁵⁶ For Ivo of Chartres' opinion on the investiture issue, see esp. *Libelli de Lite*, II, 654, lines 14-16; *MPL*, CLXII, 236A.

growing separation between the Church and the world, coming close to a disastrous dichotomy by the early fourteenth century. This separation, aside from the ill-fated Franciscan episode, was interrupted only by intermittent attempts on the part of the papacy to gain concessions for its own superstate from the rulers of Europe. A tendency toward this new equilibrium was evident in the pontificate of Urban II in the 1090's; it began to come to fruition in the third decade of the twelfth century, when Gregorian ideals declined even in the papal *curia*.⁵⁷

In the following centuries this monastic withdrawal from the world continued steadily until the monastic order lost nearly all its social utility and became widely discredited. If on the one hand this withdrawal was inaugurated by the new ascetic impulses within the ranks of the secular clergy, on the other hand the emerging secular state in Western Europe was not sorry to decrease its relationship with the monastic order. By divesting kingship of its quasi-sacramental basis, the Gregorian reform encouraged monarchy's greater reliance on purely secular power through the building up of administrative bureaucracy.⁵⁸ This development appeared first in England in the latter part of the reign of Henry I. It seems scarcely accidental that after the investiture controversy Henry placed at the head of his growing administration the harsh, ruthless secular clerk Roger of Salisbury and the new kind of professional bureaucrat Nigel of Ely. The King's hopes for the revival of the good old days, when his father's chief assistant was an eminent monastic scholar, had proved vain. In fact the regular clergy had shown their dangerous unreliability as far as the King was concerned. Whatever support the Gregorian reform movement had in England came from Anselm and his monastic disciples. And from without Henry had to withstand the attack that the Italian monk, Pope Paschal II, had launched against the very foundations of the Anglo-Norman Church-state system. In view of these developments it seems scarcely fortuitous that at this time Henry I began the practice of scutage which made the Anglo-Norman monarchy even less reliant than before on knight service from Church lands. The investiture controversy had indicated the potential dangers of depending on the loyalty of ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief.

The consequence for European political life of the monks' loss of political influence during the following two centuries can readily be gauged by comparing William of Nogaret, the cynical and ruthless agent of Philip the Fair,

⁵⁷ Cantor, *Lay Investiture*, 116 ff.; H. W. Klewitz, "Das Ende des Reformpapstums," *Deutsches Archiv*, III (No. 2, 1939), 371-412.

⁵⁸ See further Norman F. Cantor, "The Age of the Gregorian Reform and the Investiture Controversy: New Interpretation," *Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1959, 28-29.

with Lanfranc of Canterbury, the great monastic statesman who wisely advised and carefully tamed Duke William the Bastard. The important role that Abbot Suger of St. Denis played in the kingdom of France in the 1130's and 1140's only indicates, in the long-range perspective, the comparative backwardness of the Capetian monarchy at this time. By the end of the century, France was catching up with her great neighbors with a vengeance, and the new men, the harsh and faceless *magistri*, the professional bureaucrats with their university degrees, were already playing a significant role in the French royal administration. From Nigel of Ely to William of Nogaret there is a straight, almost inevitable, line of development. And so, while the monastic order became spiritually embalmed behind the walls of its comfortable establishments, a new, grasping, penetrating, secularist spirit came to dominate European political life.

St. Bernard may have had some perception of this coming development. His restlessness and bad temper in the 1120's and 1130's are usually attributed to a grave natural defect of temperament heightened by an inability to endure completely the restraints of Cistercian life. But Bernard's angry disposition could very well have partly resulted from the tensions produced by the realization that the Cistercian withdrawal from society was not without its unfortunate consequences. Unlike the other Cistercian leaders, Bernard tried desperately to impose his own ideals on the Church and on society in general. He would have been much happier as a member of Gregory VII's *curia* than he was in the habit of a white monk. At least in the earlier part of his life, he could never quite make himself give up the Gregorian ideal of *Christianitas*.⁵⁹

From this survey of religious currents between 1050 and 1130 it seems to be no exaggeration to say that the crisis of Western monasticism was the crisis of medieval civilization itself. Perhaps it would also be true that the tragedy of the monastic order was the tragedy of the medieval world.

⁵⁹ Cf. Augustin Fliche, "L'influence de Grégoire VII sur la pensée du Saint Bernard," *Saint Bernard et son temps* (Dijon, 1924).

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Robber Barons Revisited

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND*

THERE are many reasons for revising an estimate or an impression of a period. An a priori wish to condone or condemn it hardly seems a legitimate one, though the partisan purpose may be masked for the occasion in the erudition of a frame-of-reference theory or the assertion that every generation must write its own history. More commendable as a reason for revision is the discovery or availability of new sources and other material. Such availability has been of peculiar importance in the case of business or company history and of biographies of business leaders. For the business titans in the robber baron generation there have thus resulted two successive two-volume studies of John D. Rockefeller by Allan Nevins.¹ The occasion for the second of these books thirteen years after the first was "the fortunate discovery of an immense additional body of correspondence, long thought lost." At the same time Ralph and Muriel Hidy, under the sponsorship of the Business History Foundation, were chosen to write, from the corporate records, the history of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and affiliated or related corporations.² They elected to regard their narrative as a series "of decisions made in response to a succession of prods and pressures" and they abjured any "systematic effort to correct specific errors and misconceptions about Standard Oil and its leaders" on the ground that "to have done so would have required a second volume as large as this one, a prospect as appalling to the authors as to potential readers." Though the introduction of decisions, sometimes characterized by others as "entrepreneurial decisions," introduces a variable into the history of this era as hard to nail down as that puzzling newcomer "the Protestant ethic" is in all periods of American history, the facts here

* Mr. Kirkland is professor emeritus, Bowdoin College. He is the author of *Men, Cities, and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1948).

¹ Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise* (2 vols., New York, 1940) and *Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist* (2 vols., New York, 1953).

² Ralph W. and Muriel E. Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911: History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)* (New York, 1955).

set forth speak for themselves. A third study of comparable significance is that of the philosophy and, to a lesser extent, the practice of railroad leaders by Thomas C. Cochran.³ Though the author insists that he could not have written the book without relying upon the concept of role playing, I think the volume valuable for its levies upon the corporate records and official correspondence of sixty-one railroad executives and the arrangement of the resulting treasure of new material in categories that would have occurred to any investigator of common sense.

Granted that the works hitherto cited throw light from a different angle upon the age of the robber barons, it does not follow that the availability of new material automatically involves any extensive revisionism. Julius Grodinsky in his study of Jay Gould⁴ utilized masses of new material and made clear how the business decisions and methods of this particular business leader worked. But as a personality and businessman of his times, Gould remains a financial scamp or a compulsive acquirer with a pathetic sense of loneliness—depending upon the point of view.

Nor is all new material in business archives and correspondence. The refulgence of square-deal muckraking, coupled with the myopia of our historians of literature, has left the impression that the periodicals of the late nineteenth century were compendia of genteel pieces. Actually periodicals like the *Forum*, *North American Review*, *Atlantic*, and *Popular Science Monthly* were crowded with articles on religion, education, technology, housing, the division of wealth, the nature of the ideal society, and political and economic issues. Though partisan participants often wrote these articles, they were generally as discerning and more responsible than articles by Ida M. Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens. Reliance upon periodical material is one of the outstanding characteristics of Sidney Fine's highly useful volume.⁵ While the book is neither revisionist in premises or tone, it introduces one innovation: a considerable statement of the "laissez-faire" or business point of view. Using the editorials and obituaries of a wide sample of newspapers, Sigmund Diamond⁶ has demonstrated among other things that on death three robber barons were less censured than two business leaders from the previous generation of capitalists.

The cause of revisionism must be more broadly based than upon the mere tumbling of new material into the scholarly market place. Some in-

³ Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890: The Business Mind in Action* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

⁴ Julius Grodinsky, *Jay Gould: His Business Career, 1867-1892* (Philadelphia, 1957).

⁵ Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865-1901* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1956).

⁶ Sigmund Diamond, *The Reputation of the Businessman* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

herent paradox of inconsistency in the period itself must nag the observer into efforts to discover a clue that will reconcile the contradictions. In this period, according to the old consensus, business was greedy and without social purpose, businessmen were at best selfish and at worst dishonest, management exploited labor, the rich grew richer while the poor grew poorer, and "things are in the saddle and ride mankind." At least this would seem to be the upshot of the interpretations of Charles and Mary Beard and Vernon Parrington.⁷ Both of these works were of the late twenties or soon thereafter. It is unnecessary to cite the numerous and popular textbooks derived from these two pacemakers. Wherever stated, it is hard to reconcile these general assertions with the fact that nationally the Republican party, the party of big business, enjoyed almost uninterrupted political success and was as strong under McKinley at the end of the period as it was under Grant at the beginning. The Cleveland interim was no ideological exception to this generalization. One by one the bridges of explanation that were thrown across this gap—"waving the bloody shirt," buying the election in a whole state, for example, Indiana, or the widespread intimidation of voters as in 1896—did not reach the other side or exhibited other imperfections. Perhaps it is simpler to believe that the performance of the economy during this era was not as bad as pictured and in general won popular endorsement.

It is doubtful if a revision of the robber baron period will be initiated by a single volume. For the pre-Civil War era a work like Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* is so much a foundation stone that its refutation would shake the treatment of the Federalists and the Jacksonians. And certainly if the cases of Robert E. Brown and Forrest McDonald⁸ can be made to stick, extensive changes in the interpretation of later history are in order. For the post-Civil War era there is no comparable key volume. Nevins and the Hidys may well correct the narrative and reverse the judgments of Ida M. Tarbell,⁹ and a careful reading, coupled with an analysis of his rhetorical devices, discredit Henry Demarest Lloyd.¹⁰ Such procedures will only shake down a little plaster. It is no use undermining the big over-all works of this period by Rhodes and Oberholtzer, for both were comparatively unconcerned with economic changes. For example, the former was once chided, somewhat unjustly, for devoting more space

⁷ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 vols., New York, 1927); Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (3 vols., New York, 1927-30), III, *The Beginning of Critical Realism in America, 1860-1920*.

⁸ Robert E. Brown, *Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution"* (Princeton, N. J., 1956); Forrest McDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958).

⁹ Ida M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1904).

¹⁰ Henry D. Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth* (New York, 1894).

to an operation on Cleveland's jaw than to the history of the AF of L. Matthew Josephson's two volumes are in a somewhat different category.¹¹ They have not enjoyed much repute among historians for some reason. Perhaps they are too gay and flippant about serious matters; perhaps they handled rumor and gossip as evidence; perhaps they reveal traces of the doctrinaire; perhaps they are too interestingly written. But it is the fashion to dismiss them as "journalistic"—an adjective reserved for books not written by professional historians.

A few years ago the hope for a new synthesis of the history of this period would have been said to lie in breaking down the barriers between disciplines and in raiding sociology, economics, anthropology, and psychology for their insights, methodology, and less frequently their rhetoric. There are signs the vogue for this prescription is waning. One of the statesmen of our profession, Merle Curti, has discovered in his study of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin,¹² that quantitative and qualitative methods—to wit, diaries, newspapers—yield much the same conclusions or at least the methods confirm each other; and a sociologist, C. Wright Mills, though he has some doubts about the historical specificity of American history, is exhorting sociologists to write like historians.¹³

Perhaps the barriers best burned away are those between specialties within the field of history. We are getting too partitioned off even within our own single discipline. Instances of the advantages of combining historical specialties are demonstrated in Samuel P. Hays, *Response to Industrialism*,¹⁴ which though fragmentary in its revisionism remains the most perceptive account of the robber baron period; in Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*,¹⁵ which, like most books on this theme, hurries too rapidly over other attitudes in order to reach the social gospellers, a minority group; and in Willard Hurst's highly original volume,¹⁶ which dissipates the stock conventionalities,¹⁷ repeated time out of mind, about the relations of the law and courts to business enterprise. How advantageous it would be if someone not an educationalist would integrate our educational

¹¹ Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896* (New York, 1938), and *The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901* (New York, 1934).

¹² Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, Calif., 1959).

¹³ C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York, 1959).

¹⁴ Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914* (Chicago, 1957).

¹⁵ Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York, 1949).

¹⁶ J. Willard Hurst, *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century United States* (Madison, Wis., 1956).

¹⁷ For example, the essay on Stephen J. Field in Robert McCloskey, *American Conservatism in the Age of Enterprise: A Study of William Graham Sumner, Stephen J. Field, and Andrew Carnegie* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

advance, the public schools, and practical education in this era with the demands and needs of the business community and an industrial order. For higher education Walter Metzger has demonstrated that "business control" was neither as sinister nor mischievous as readers of Upton Sinclair's *Goose Step* would have anticipated.¹⁸ Still to cover the whole field, a history of higher education and business should include technical and practical education, changes in the liberal arts institutions, and the growth of collegiate athletics and other so-called "activities."

But there will always remain a human tendency to select one note as dominant for the period of the robber barons. Since economic events were then so dramatic and overpowering and there seems to be an inborn inclination to explain things in terms of economic life, historians have tended to put at the forefront in interpreting this period some variant of economic determinism. Indeed one gifted supervisor of undergraduates at Cambridge University left his students with the impression that if they knew the history of business and industry after the Civil War they knew all. In view of the overemphasis on politics in American history instruction in Great Britain, this alleged dictum was startling and commendable. Nevertheless revisionism will be most fruitful if it enters the period by the gate of politics. I do not mean by this a mere analysis of political structure and performance—though these have a place—but an emphasis upon what Edward Atkinson, one of the most thoughtful businessmen in this period, once called "our whole democratic organization." It was this as ideal and practice that enabled the labor union movement to appeal to fellow laborers and to middle-class sympathizers as successfully as it did. The enlarging participation of the government in scientific activities reflected, among other pressures, the democratic spirit; findings accumulated and publicized by government belonged to everybody, not to private individuals. Hunter Dupree¹⁹ has incidentally illuminated this facet of the period. Since the economy was, on the whole, functioning to the satisfaction of the majority by making more goods at cheaper prices, the attack upon big business was a politically motivated attack. It was feared that the innumerable business relationships with government would spoil our whole democratic organization. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was as much a political and social measure as an economic one.²⁰ Conversely the very strong undercurrent against democracy flowing through these years opposed

¹⁸ Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York, 1955).

¹⁹ A. Hunter Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government: A History of Policies and Activities to 1940* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957).

²⁰ Hans B. Thorelli, *The Federal Antitrust Policy: Organization of an American Tradition*

government intervention in business not because it was intervention by government but because it was intervention by democracy. At least this would seem to be the upshot of the argument by Charles Francis Adams, Jr. If our government had been a different sort, intervention might have been feasible and palatable.

Not the least advantage of a political approach is that it reveals so much about business. Specifically it shows the folly of writing as an entity about a "business program" or "what businessmen wanted." Thus Lee Benson's volume²¹ shows not only that eastern farmers felt differently than western farmers about railroad practices or abuses, but unveils as well the highly ludicrous spectacle of railroad leaders condemning the proposals of merchants and others as "communistic." Stanley Coben in his article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*²² reveals other cracks in the business monolith on the subject of sound money and the tariff. Of all the themes that need to be rescued from the assumptions of nineteenth-century liberalism and from the overemphasis of antibusiness critics, the tariff is the most important.

How far should revisionism go? When will the task of revisionism be done? The frame-of-reference boys will logically reply "Never!" Since history depends upon the context of the writer, the present pitch to revisionism will prove but a passing phase. Averting his gaze from this picture of eternal restlessness and flux, the revisionist can hardly expect historical writing to paint Jim Fisk as a capitalist with a sense of social responsibility; he is entitled to hope Fisk will not be christened "emblematic" of his business generation.²³ I have a different litmus paper to test the acidity of historical judgment of the robber barons. In 1902 George F. ("Divine-Right") Baer wrote: "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by labor agitators but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the county." When textbook writers stop quoting Mr. Dooley on this inept statement and recognize that instead of being entirely presumptuous, it is based upon the pious premise that the economic arrangements of this earth flowed from natural law which was of divine ordination and that the beneficiaries of natural law had an obligation for Christian stewardship, I will know that revisionism has made its dent.

(Baltimore, Md., 1955). See also my forthcoming *The Coming of the Industrial Age: Business, Labor, and Public Policy, 1860-1897*, in the Rinehart Economic History Series.

²¹ Lee Benson, *Merchants, Farmers, and Railroads: Railroad Regulation and New York Politics, 1850-1887* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

²² Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Re-examination," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (June 1959), 67-90.

²³ As in W. A. Swanberg, *Jim Fisk: The Career of an Improbable Rascal* (New York, 1959).

Interpretations of the Reformation

ROLAND H. BAINTON*

RANKE did a great service to Reformation history by discarding the philosophical presuppositions of the idealistic school and insisting that the history of the sixteenth-century religious upheaval should be written only after a fresh and full confrontation with the sources. But his hope that history might be written with utter objectivity, just as it happened, proved to be illusory. In order to bring the record of the past into manageable compass, the historian must perforce select his sources, and that selection can be highly subjective. Witness for example Janssen's *History of the German People*, which by judicious inclusion and omission of sources contrived to present the Protestant Reformation in ugly colors. Or again Döllinger's *History of the Reformation*, which filled three volumes with direct quotations from the despondent utterances of the Protestant reformers, who lamented that their achievements fell short of their hopes.¹ Then Wilhelm Walther countered with a solid body of statistical evidence.² Here were sources fighting against sources.

The modern historian is aware of all this and seeks to fortify himself by declaring his prejudices in advance. Then he strains in the opposite direction as a corrective and ends by being nonobjective in the very effort to be objective. But a deeper difficulty is that we are not even aware of our prejudices because frequently they are those which we share with our age. If we are to recognize that they are prejudices, we must engage in a comparison between the point of view of our time and those of previous times. Thus we invoke history to disclose to us our presuppositions in the approach to history. Hence today the vogue of historiography.

In the field of the Renaissance it has produced the admirable work of Wallace K. Ferguson.³ For the Reformation there is nothing comparable. We do, though, have studies of how individual leaders of the Reformation have been treated throughout the succeeding centuries: Erasmus, Zwingli,

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¹ J. J. Döllinger, *Die Reformation* (3 vols., Regensburg, 1848).

² Wilhelm Walther, *Für Luther wider Rom* (Halle, 1906).

³ Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948).

Luther, and Castellio.⁴ The historiography of the Reformation as a whole, however, still awaits treatment.

The main lines for such a study may be indicated. The age of the Reformation itself was polemical and documentary. The *Magdeburg Centuries* on the Protestant side and Baronius' *Annals* on the Catholic marshaled sources in support of confessional claims. The eighteenth century tried to achieve impartiality. This was done in either of two ways: by the historian's dissociating equally from all parties and movements or by projecting himself into them all with equal sympathy. The rationalists of the Enlightenment were inclined to the first. It is interesting that in this period we have the first effort at an objective account of Michael Servetus by Johann Lorenz von Mosheim.⁵ Pietism took the other method and responded with equal warmth to every vital religious movement of the past whether orthodox or heretical, Catholic or Protestant. The great exponent of this viewpoint was Gottfried Arnold.⁶ This is not to say of course that he was sympathetic toward everything. He commended piety and condemned institutionalism and arid speculation. But his line cut through all of the confessions, and it split Luther down the middle. The earlier Luther was regarded as a warm evangelical, the later as an encrusted institutionalist.

Under the impact of idealistic philosophy the nineteenth century sought to surmount the disjointedness of all previous treatments and to discover connections, motifs, and laws. Hegel saw in the Reformation a movement toward the emancipation of the *Weltgeist* to be valued in terms of its cultural effects, but none of the idealists produced a history of the Reformation. In the meantime the romantics disparaged the Reformation for disrupting the medieval heritage.

Ranke swept away philosophical theorizing with his demand for a thorough and extensive examination of the sources. But he, too, had a philosophy—that of divine providence in history, evidenced in order, necessity, and cohesion. The discontinuities of the Reformation were, therefore, minimized and the conservative side of Luther was exalted.

The liberal Protestants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

⁴ Andreas Flitner, *Erasmus im Urteil seiner Nachwelt* (Tübingen, 1952); Kurt Guggisberg, *Das Zwinglibild des Protestantismus* (Bern diss., 1934); Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther im Spiegel der deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1955); Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Martin Luther und die Reformation im Urteil des deutschen Luthertums* (2 vols., Freiburg, 1950-52); Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, "Sebastian Castellio im Urteil seiner Nachwelt," *Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft* (Basel, 1957), LVII.

⁵ Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Anderweitiger Versuch einer vollständigen und unpartheyischen Ketzergeschichte* (Helmstedt, 1748).

⁶ Gottfried Arnold, *Gottfried Arnolds Unpartheyische Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie* (2 vols., Frankfurt, 1700-15).

associated the Renaissance and the Reformation as conjoint phases of a movement of emancipation away from the authority of the Church. The German nationalists saw in Luther's religion an expression of the profundity of the German *Geist* and in the Reformation a stirring toward the emancipation of the German people. Then in the early twentieth century Ernst Troeltsch approached the question from the point of view of the interconnection of religion and culture. Christianity, if it is to influence a culture, must to a large degree identify itself with that culture. Protestantism, he held, was that form of Christianity which corresponded to sixteenth-century cultural needs. But these needs, he felt, were still largely those of the Middle Ages, and for that reason he stressed the medieval character of the Reformation alike in theology and ecclesiology. To his mind the great dividing line between the medieval and the modern period was to be found not in the Reformation but in the Enlightenment, though to be sure the Reformation created a situation out of which the later emancipation could arise. The Reformation itself, however, was addicted to dogma, intolerance, and constraint.⁷

The most radical break with all of these positions was inaugurated by the essay of Karl Holl in 1917, "What Did Luther Mean by Religion?"⁸ Holl rediscovered the core of Luther's piety, his overpowering sense of moral obligation, his feeling of utter impotence before the demands of God, his terror of the divine wrath justly impending, his unshakable clinging to God's Word and promises. Luther was afflicted with the *malaise de l'univers* and found surcease only through a new view of God and the Scriptures. Neither philosophy, sociology, nationalism, nor economics can explain Luther. Only religion can provide the explanation.

From this analysis, which inaugurated the Luther renaissance, we may take our departure. The question immediately arises, if this be a true picture of Luther, what then of the Reformation? Why did he gain a following? Did his disciples really understand him or did they rally for the wrong reasons? Were they convinced that indulgences were blasphemy because they are based on the contention that the saints have earned merits which can be presented as a claim upon God, or did the populace respond in order to rid themselves of financial exploitation?

There are those who say that this or some other extraneous consideration must have been determinative because, as a matter of fact, Luther's religious

⁷ Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt* (Munich, 1911), translated with the misleading title *Protestantism and Progress* (New York, 1912; Boston, 1958).

⁸ Karl Holl, "Was verstand Luther unter Religion?" (1917), reprinted in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (3 vols., Tübingen, 1928-32), I.

affirmations were in no sense novel and when previously made had had no such effect. Luther happened to emerge amid a set of circumstances peculiarly auspicious. Without such a stage and without concomitants both economic and political the Reformation would never have taken hold.⁹

As for the claim that Luther was in no sense original, there is no better reply than that to be found in the recent work of Erich Hassinger,¹⁰ who finds Luther's contribution to have been his rediscovery of the historical core of Christianity. The claim of the Christian religion is that God did something unique in history. In the year that Caesar Augustus ordered all the world to be taxed the Word became flesh. The incarnation, the crucifixion, and the resurrection constituted a unique self-disclosure of God in Christ. To Him the ages lead up and from Him the centuries lead out. By faith in His redeeming work man is forgiven and remade. The assertion of the unique historical role of Christ is an offense because it assumes unevenness in the work of God, who, if this be true, declared Himself more manifestly to the men of the first century than to those in any other. There are various ways of escaping from the historical singularity of Christ. One is mysticism: God is accessible at all times equally to the waiting heart. Another is moralism: man is saved by his own good deeds done here and now. And still another is institutionalism: the Church is the custodian and continuator of the revelation once and for all given. Luther asserted unequivocally the historical uniqueness of the work of God in Christ. Its continuance in the present is mediated through Scripture, which is the record of the event. And though it must be interpreted by the Spirit, yet the Spirit can never be dissociated from the outward Word. This position divided Luther from Catholics on the one side and from Protestant sectaries on the other.

But if it be granted that Luther was original as to religion, the question still remains whether men were stirred by his religion or merely by his revolt. Some historians, here as elsewhere, offer an economic explanation. This of itself is by no means novel. The charge arose almost at once that the princes supported Luther in order to expropriate the goods of the Church, that the peasants at first rallied to him in the hope that the freedom of the Gospel would mean freedom from serfdom, that the masses espoused the Gospel in order to throw off tithes, fees, and indulgences. To such an explanation there are several replies. The most decisive is that in short order the populace and the princes risked their goods and their lives by adherence

⁹ Albert Hyma, *New Light on Martin Luther, with an Authentic Account of the Luther Film of 1953* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1958).

¹⁰ Erich Hassinger, *Das Werden des neuzeitlichen Europa, 1300-1600* (Braunschweig, 1959).

to the new faith. At the Diet of the Empire in 1530, the German princes presented the Augsburg Confession, fully aware that the Emperor might in consequence deprive them of their titles, lands, and lives. In the 1540's the Emperor came with Spanish troops to crush Protestantism, but neither princes nor people would yield. Had their concern been only economic, one cannot understand such intrepidity. One may note also that some simple laymen like Hans Sachs did grasp what Luther meant in the very core of his theology. Perhaps one reason why they did and could understand his message was that the way had been in some measure prepared by the German mystics who had stressed not outward good works but inward attitudes of humility and love.

The economic explanation for the movement's success in Germany is more plausible if it is compared with the failure in Italy. Some writers have suggested that the Protestant reform did not take hold there because the gold flowed from over the Alps into Italy. That may have been a partial factor, but there are other possibilities. One historian suggests that Protestantism failed because Catholicism is ingrained in the very fiber of the Italian people. But that simply is not true. No European land had seen so many revolts not only against the Church but also against the faith from the late twelfth to the sixteenth century as had Italy. The peninsula pullulated with sects. One by one they were plucked by the Inquisition. Italy was tired. Heresy was played out. That may be one explanation. Another is the adroitness of Rome in capturing and utilizing the movements of vitality. Had there been a great revolt against the papacy in Italy in the sixteenth century, it could probably have come only from the Capuchins, imbued as they were with the ideals of the Spiritual Franciscans. If the popes had rejected the first Capuchins, they might easily have become rebels and heretics. Discretion made of them apostles and saints. A still further explanation is the nature of the preparation. The preaching in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was highly moralistic, directed against specific sins: usury, prostitution, luxury, exhortation, tyranny, feuding, and the wearing of vanities. Lyrical raptures over the wounds of Christ ended in appeals to imitate his sufferings. The inference was that penitence and amendment of life would win God's pardon.¹¹ But this was just the point that Luther denied. He could denounce sins with all the vehemence of a Savonarola, but his point was that divine forgiveness is a sheer act of God's grace and in no way contingent upon anything that man can do. Amendment of life flows from

¹¹ Arsenio d'Ascoli, *La Predicazione dei Cappuccini nel Cinquecento in Italia* (Loreto, Ancona, 1956).

the assurance of pardon. The German mystics had come closer to this than ever did the Italian friars, and the difference in the religious preparation may have had more to do with the outcome than had economics.

Other interpreters stress political factors, contending that the Reformation could have begun in no other country than Germany because of the political decentralization. The point is that in a great monarchical state an obscure professor would have had little chance to persuade a monarch like Francis, Henry, or Charles to embrace his religious ideas. And if the monarch were not at least neutral, the advocate of new religious ideas would be promptly snuffed out. Saxony was small enough and the relations sufficiently personal that a teacher at the University of Wittenberg, supported by his colleagues, could gain the support of a little prince like Frederick the Wise, who was sufficiently independent to pursue a strategy of obstructionism over against the Emperor. There is some point no doubt in this contention. Had Luther first appeared in the Netherlands he would have gone quickly to the stake, since here Charles ruled as a hereditary prince. But one cannot say that an academic reformer might not have converted a monarch. There is no inherent reason why John Colet in England or Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples in France might not have converted the crown. As a matter of fact Henry VIII did introduce the Reformation into England without provoking a serious revolt, though to be sure it was not Luther's variety. Perhaps one may safely say that the Reformation took hold and survived only where it coincided with some sort of political interest, but the identification must not be too precise.

Contemporary histories of the Reformation tend to be misleading because the religious understanding of the Reformation is subordinated to the exigencies of teaching. Political history predominates in the works of Paul Joachimsen, Harold J. Grimm, Hajo Holborn, E. Harris Harbison, Eric Hassinger, and Gerhard Ritter.¹² This is certainly not because they have failed to grasp the nature of Luther's religion and the sources of his critique of the Church. Ritter in particular has written a most penetrating book on Luther.¹³ The explanation may be that these works actually are not histories of the Reformation, but rather histories of Europe or of Germany during the period of the Reformation. The scope of the treatment is somewhat de-

¹² Paul Joachimsen, *Die Reformation* (Munich, 1951); Harold J. Grimm, *The Reformation Era, 1500-1650* (New York, 1954); Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany, I, The Reformation* (New York, 1959); E. Harris Harbison, *The Age of the Reformation* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955); Hassinger, *Werden des neuzeitlichen Europa*; Gerhard Ritter, *Die Neugestaltung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1950).

¹³ *Id.*, *Luther, Gestalt und Tat* (Munich, 1943). An earlier edition was called *Luther, Gestalt und Symbol*.

terminated by the purpose for which the books are to be used, namely as texts in courses on European, German, or world history. The titles indicate the scope: *The Reformation Era*, *The Age of the Reformation*, *Die Neugestaltung Europas*. In these works politics and sociology play as much or even a greater part than religion. One suspects that the demands of university courses have determined the allocation of space.

But if the Reformation was primarily religious, what then of its relation to the Renaissance? The answer of course depends in part on the interpretation of the Renaissance. The diversities in that area are well illustrated by three recent works on Erasmus. The first of these, by Siro Attilio Nulli,¹⁴ depicts Erasmus as neither a Catholic nor a Christian. Nulli appreciates Erasmus' position because he holds the same beliefs. He is sorry only that Erasmus wasted so much time trying to prove that he was what he was not. Émile V. Telle¹⁵ presents an Erasmus who may have been a Christian, but was certainly not a Catholic since his attack on monasticism was earlier more virulent and persistent than that of Luther. But Louis Bouyer¹⁶ claims Erasmus to have been both a good Christian and a good Catholic. Several questions are involved here: What is a Christian? What is a Catholic? And what was Erasmus? The answers to these questions have an obvious bearing on judgments with regard to the Reformation.

A cleavage between the Reformation and the Renaissance certainly existed, but the tendency of late has been to accentuate it. The Renaissance was, as a matter of fact, a complex phenomenon, but certainly persons like Colet, Pico, Ficino, More, and Erasmus are not to be called frivolous or irreligious. Yet Renaissance religion was not Luther's religion. There was in it a strong ingredient of the Neoplatonic disparagement of the corporeal which when not restrained by the authority of the Church issued in iconoclasm, sacramentarianism, that is, the denial of the real presence, and even in a rejection of music. Tendencies in this direction were already present in Erasmus. At this point Luther was a good medieval Catholic. Another ingredient of Renaissance religion was tolerance toward other religions, a readiness to recognize that there is more than one way to God. And this was because the Renaissance minimized the historical uniqueness of Christianity. Luther, however, would have absolutely nothing to do with any such attenuation. Again the Renaissance shared with Catholicism a higher estimate of the capacity and worth of the natural man than Luther allowed. This was the core of his debate with Erasmus. Yet Luther enthusiastically appropriated

¹⁴ Siro Attilio Nulli, *Erasmus e il Rinascimento* (Turin, 1955).

¹⁵ Émile V. Telle, *Érasme de Rotterdam et le septième sacrement* (Geneva, 1954).

¹⁶ Louis Bouyer, *Autour d'Érasme* (Paris, 1955).

and the Reformation adopted all of the philological tools and the historical critical method of the humanist.

During the last quarter of a century several new approaches to the Reformation have emerged. The first is the application of psychiatry to history. In his presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1957 William Langer held that the "next assignment" is to apply the insights of psychoanalysis to history.¹⁷ He is perfectly right in asserting that whatever illumines the present should be brought to bear upon the past, provided sufficient material of the right sort is available to implement this technique. There are, however, grave difficulties in psychoanalyzing the dead. In the case of Luther, we know much, and for some thirty years of his life we know something that he did on twenty days out of every month. What we know, however, is not what, for this purpose, we need to know. The result is that the psychiatrist fastens on three or four remarks of the aged Luther about his boyhood, remarks transmitted to us only at secondhand. Then on the basis of such sparse material the psychiatrist reconstructs all the turmoils of Luther's inner life. There is, however, a more serious difficulty in the case of all of the psychiatrists who have turned their hand to Luther thus far. They do not envisage the possibility that he could have been impelled by any motive except egocentricity.¹⁸ In any case, if one should succeed in psychoanalyzing a man there would still be the more elusive task of psychoanalyzing a movement.

Catholic historiography of the Protestant Reformation has advanced notably in recent years. Research has become much more objective, and the tendency is to pity the misguided rather than to rail at rebels. In Luther's own day he was traduced by Johannes Cochläus. Recently a German Catholic, Adolf Herte, has exposed Cochläus' misrepresentations and their baneful effect upon all Catholic historiography to our own day.¹⁹ Georges Tavard points out that in Luther's day medieval Catholicism resembled a vase already shattered but with the pieces still in place. Luther's unhappy historical destiny was to come at the moment when a touch sufficed to make them fall apart.²⁰ Joseph Lortz poses the question: How could Luther have persuaded his generation that Catholicism amounted to nothing more than purchasing heaven?²¹ A generation after Luther this might be explained as a Protestant

¹⁷ William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (Jan. 1958), 283-304.

¹⁸ Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther* (New York, 1958). What he says about Luther on sex and on the Peasants' War is very sensible.

¹⁹ Adolf Herte, *Das katholische Lutherbild im Bann der Lutherkommentare des Cochläus* (3 vols., 1943). Only a few copies survived the bombardment, and I have not seen the work.

²⁰ Georges Henri Tavard, *Holy Writ or Holy Church* (New York, 1959).

²¹ Joseph Lortz, *Die Reformation in Deutschland* (2d ed., 2 vols., Freiburg, 1941).

legend, but not in the first decades of the Reformation. The only possible conclusion is that the behavior of the majority of Catholics lent itself to this interpretation. As for Luther's own religion, his trembling before the majesty of God and his demand for utter self-emptying are not to be brushed off lightly as exaggerations. And in the portrayal of sin, what terrific earnestness! At a number of points, nevertheless, Luther did exaggerate and therefore distorted.

With all such treatments a Protestant historian can come to grips. One of the Catholic historians' greatest contributions is their placing of Luther in the setting of late medieval Catholicism.

Another school of interpretation is that of the neo-orthodox. The rebels against Protestant liberalism affirmed the depravity of man, the salvation of man solely through the grace of God, the utter transcendence of God, and the possibility of knowing God only through His self-disclosure in Christ. These theologians claimed that they were reviving the theology of the sixteenth-century reformers. In so doing they unquestionably called attention to points in Reformation theology entirely missed by the interpreters of the liberal school, who because of their presuppositions had not the eyes to see what was there. But by the same token the neo-orthodox were tempted to impose their own meanings upon their reputed progenitors.

Their attempt to derive everything from Christ, including religious knowledge, salvation, and ethics, leads to exaggerations. First as to the knowledge of God: if knowledge is possible only through Christ then there is no room for natural theology. Peter Barth attempted to show that this was Calvin's view.²² But for all that Calvin said about the depravity of man's will and intellect he was to the end too deeply steeped in Stoicism ever to eliminate all natural religion.

Again, if Christ be the only source of ethics, what place is left for natural law, unless perchance for the non-Christian? The neo-orthodox tend to exclude from Luther's thinking not only natural law but all law, claiming that his ethic was entirely spontaneous and unstructured. Incidentally this view is not a particular discovery of the neo-orthodox. Before them it was advanced by Karl Holl, who anticipated more than one of their contentions not by approaching Luther with their assumptions, but simply by steeping himself in Luther. At this point, however, one may suggest that they have all exaggerated. A Catholic author published a book on natural law in Luther in which he cited many passages that sound like Thomas Aquinas.²³ To be

²² Peter Barth, "Das Problem der natürlichen Theologie bei Calvin," *Theologische Existenz Heute*, XVIII (1935).

²³ Franz Xaver Arnold, *Zur Frage des Naturrechts bei Martin Luther* (Munich, 1937).

sure, the theological framework in which natural law thinking was set differed for Aquinas and Luther, but it was, nevertheless, decidedly present in Luther.

Finally, if for the Christian everything proceeds from Christ, must not the Christian feel himself to be a stranger in the world, if not indeed an alien? No one would deny that Luther called upon the Christian to demean himself as a good citizen, but Heckel insists that this was not because the Christian belongs to the natural order but rather that out of love for his neighbor he should stoop himself to an alien yoke.²⁴ The Christian, then, in his interior becomes a unified being. This view very sharply contrasts to that of Troeltsch who asserted that for Luther the Christian belongs to two realms and is governed by two codes, one might almost say two ethics, and must be torn by the duality of his role as a Christian and as a man in the world. Holl had already bridged the gap by insisting that in both areas the Christian is to be motivated by love. But Heckel makes the bridge unnecessary by eliminating the gap, and that I think is going rather too far.

The broader problems of the interpretation of any period depend for their verification and progress on documentary evidence. And progress in research means a constant quest for new materials and their dissemination in the original form or in modern critical editions. Here we must recognize that there are large bodies of documents, which because of their sheer extent or minor significance, will never be made available in critical editions. For that reason the Foundation for Reformation Research has begun the micro-filming of every sixteenth-century book bearing on any aspect of the Reformation. The entire material will be housed in St. Louis where the reproductions from the Vatican Library are now stored. The foundation has already made a beginning with the works of Brenz, the reformer of Swabia. The next move will be to film one after another of the major libraries of Europe. The Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence, for example, has nearly everything pertaining to the Italian Reformation. The plans for this entire enterprise have been carefully laid, but most of the funds are yet to be subscribed. Critical editions of many of the reformers are under way. The Weimar edition of Luther's works will eventually be reedited with additional critical annotations. At Yale a project has been initiated on an entire corpus of the works of St. Thomas More, Strassbourg is at work on Martin Bucer, and Geneva is ready to bring out the correspondence on Theodore Beza. The publisher Sansoni at Florence announces the forthcoming publication of a whole series on the

²⁴ Johannes Heckel, "Lex Charitatis," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* (Munich, 1953), N.F. XXXVI, and "Im Irrgarten der Zwei-Reiche-Lehre," *Theologische Existenz Heute*, LV (1957).

Italian reformers, and the Polish reformers are already appearing in their native tongue. The Anabaptist documents have now reached formidable proportions. For the Reformation in Spain John E. Longhurst and Mrs. Angela Sanchez Barbudo are publishing new documents from the records of the Inquisition.

The most prominent omission is a critical edition of the works of Erasmus. Mr. and Mrs. P. S. Allen have done his letters, the Holborns have edited selected works, and Wallace Ferguson has done the works not included in the great Louvain edition.²⁵ But the great bulk has not been touched. For years Yale has been collecting first editions in order to lay the groundwork. Erasmus suffers from the misfortune of not having founded a church. The Lutherans take care of Luther, the Calvinists of Calvin, and the Schwenkfeldians of Schwenkfeld. The Mennonites are chiefly responsible for the publication of the Anabaptist documents. Erasmus, however, kept *au-dessus de la mêlée* and there he stays.

Bibliographical surveys of the Reformation must start from the great work of Karl Schottenloher.²⁶ The literature as it appears is covered in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* as well as in frequent surveys in *Church History*. Anabaptist literature is treated in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Two admirable recent surveys are those of Hassinger in the work already mentioned and that of the International Commission for Comparative Ecclesiastical History.²⁷ Much work remains to be done.

²⁵ *Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Hajo and Annemarie Holborn (Munich, 1933); Wallace K. Ferguson, *Erasmi Opuscula* (The Hague, 1933).

²⁶ Karl Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* (6 vols., Leipzig, 1933-40).

²⁷ *Bibliographie de la réforme, 1450-1648: Ouvrages parus de 1940 à 1955* (2 vols., Leiden, 1958, 1960).

Johnson, Stanton, and Grant: A Reconsideration of the Army's Role in the Events Leading to Impeachment

HAROLD M. HYMAN*

SEVENTY years ago William A. Dunning saw the involvement of Ulysses Grant and other army officers in the political developments that resulted in Andrew Johnson's impeachment as a "... mere accidental feature of the general issue ... throwing over the situation a sort of martial glamour."¹ Accepting this premise without questioning its validity, historians have understated if not altogether ignored the army's role, desires, and needs during the first three years after Appomattox. Studies of the Reconstruction period have stressed political and economic approaches to the impeachment theme, and in the process some writers have created a sentimental and incorrect image of Johnson as a vigorous defender of constitutional rights and presidential prerogatives.²

A growing interest in civil-military relations has recently led some investigators into fresh pathways. Lloyd Lewis, for example, while on the trail of Grant's actions during the confused months after Lee surrendered, had by 1947 come to the tentative conclusion that "... Grant ... and the [other] Generals were convinced that Andrew Johnson was going so fast in re-admitting 'Rebels' to power, that the nation was endangered." The "modern" view, Lewis continued in a private letter, "that Johnson was merely restoring Lincoln's merciful [Reconstruction] policy and that was all there was to it

* Mr. Hyman, associate professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, and author of *To Try Men's Souls: Loyalty Tests in American History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959), read portions of this article as a paper at the 1959 meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, American Historical Association.

¹ William A. Dunning, "The Impeachment and Trial of President Johnson," *American Historical Association, Papers* (5 vols., New York, 1886-91), IV, 479-80.

² Bernard A. Weisberger, "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Reconstruction Historiography," *Journal of Southern History*, XXV (Nov. 1959), 427-47, and Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton, N. J., 1954), 302-33, offer useful surveys of extant bibliography. The major studies of Johnson are devoted to sustaining his conduct; see George F. Milton, *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (New York, 1930), Lloyd P. Stryker, *Andrew Johnson: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1929), and Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era: The Revolution after Lincoln* (Boston, 1929). Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960), was unfortunately not available during the preparation of this article. It offers a valuable and provocative revision of its subject's role, in essential harmony with the theme of this article, but McKittrick does not include consideration of the military institution.

overlooks a hell of a lot of unreconstructed things the old Bourbons . . . were doing at the time.”³

Untimely death cut short Lewis’ work on Grant in which this judgment might have appeared as a firm conclusion. Lewis was on the right track. The period from early 1865 through 1867 still requires reexamination in order to ascertain what Grant and other generals felt and did about events, and to clarify the ultimately conflicting purposes and policies of President Johnson and his holdover War Secretary, Edwin M. Stanton, the army’s civilian overlords. When viewed from the perspective of the professional army officer of this time, these controversial personalities and complex problems gain new illumination.

With the surrender of the last rebel forces, the hurriedly reorganized regulars of the United States Army faced four primary responsibilities. In order to meet them, Stanton and Grant grouped the troops into what in effect were two separate “armies.” The first “army” was assigned to relatively traditional duties. It patrolled the Mexican border to impress the French adventurers at the Halls of Montezuma, sought to suppress the Indian tribesmen who had grown bold from wartime incitements, and in smaller detachments garrisoned posts along the unquiet Canadian border and performed training and ceremonial chores in eastern cities. This “army” never became a political issue. Its commanders remained within the traditional pattern of civilian direction from the White House and War Department; Congress was content to let Johnson control it.⁴

In defeated Dixie, however, the war-born military galaxy faced a task unique in American history—the military government of large numbers of their countrymen after hostilities had ceased. Here the second “army” came into being. Its commanders had at hand only the lessons in occupation administration learned since 1861 to guide them. No one in the early months of 1865 knew if these precedents were adequate for peacetime. A new and untried President was in the White House. Marking time until Johnson indicated what he wished the army to do in the South, Stanton and Grant sanctioned the police and welfare activities which local commanders undertook, and devoted their energies to solving demobilization and reorganization problems.

³ *Letters from Lloyd Lewis* (Boston, 1950), 52.

⁴ Sensing this, William Tecumseh Sherman, who usually tried to stay clear of the political jungle, saw to it that he was assigned to western duties, and except for intervals when he dabbled in the Grant-Stanton-Johnson imbroglio, Sherman escaped serious involvement in the army crisis. See Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1958), 581–94.

In April 1865 Stanton, Grant, and the senior army officers were prepared to offer Johnson the same cordial support that they had tendered to Lincoln.⁵ They assumed that Johnson would give the army the same firm executive backing that Lincoln had done. In the soldiers' terms, this meant that the new President would use the troops in the South to make worthwhile the wartime sacrifices of a hundred thousand Billy Yanks, and that he would employ the powers of his office to protect military personnel who were performing duties to which he had assigned them. Three years later Congress impeached Johnson for attempting to exercise commander in chief powers over the second "army," and in this the legislators had the soldiers' cordial acquiescence. By early 1868 the United States Army units on southern occupation duty were under Congress' command rather than the President's. It had become a separate "army" in law as well as in fact.

Divorce between the White House and the War Department was an improbable eventuality when Johnson announced his Reconstruction and pardon program for the South in May 1865. The President was confident that he was carrying out the spirit of Lincoln's plans, and to be sure, his pronouncements concerning the former rebel states had the ring of his predecessor's. Like Lincoln, Johnson based his Reconstruction proclamation on a broad view of executive power, adequate to employ the army to build new and ostensibly loyal state governments in the South. To this end and for their own protection, the soldiers were to use martial law to expedite the process. True, Johnson ignored the tendency Lincoln had exhibited shortly before the war ended for including some substantial portion of southern Negroes in the electorates of the new states. But the significance of this omission was not immediately apparent.

It soon became obvious, however, to most of the officers on southern duty and to Stanton and Grant who read their reports that fundamental differences existed between the Reconstruction plans of the two Presidents. Lincoln had used the December 1863 proclamation primarily as a war weapon to seduce southern whites away from their allegiance to the Confederacy. Thus

⁵ On army reorganization, see Secretary of War, *Annual Report, 1865* (Washington, D. C., 1866); *Army and Navy Journal* (May 13, 1865), 600. Wartime precedents for occupation of the South are discussed in A. H. Carpenter, "Military Government of Southern Territory, 1861-1865," *Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1900* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1901), I, 465-98, and Wilton P. Moore, "The Provost Marshal Goes to War," *Civil War History*, V (Mar. 1959), 62-71. The tendency of Stanton and the army commanders to support Johnson is evident in "Original Letters of General Grant," *Colorado Magazine*, XIV (Mar. 1937), 65; Charles A. Dana to James S. Pike, May 10, 1865, Calais Free Library; and the numerous memoranda in the Stanton MSS, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, detailing the War Secretary's accord with the new President.

conceived and successfully employed by the Union army, Lincoln's plan and his exercise of presidential powers sustained the northern soldier. As Johnson's program developed through 1865, Union officers became convinced that it strengthened only former rebels and returned to positions of official power in the South men who had brought the nation to civil war, but who had since received Johnson's pardons for their rebellious pasts. General Philip Sheridan was later to term Johnson's southern policy "a broad macadamized road for perjury to travel on," by which unrepentant southern whites were encouraged to harass federal soldiers and Unionists, and through vicious legalisms to escape punishment for these transgressions.⁶

Consider one aspect of Reconstruction in 1865 that outraged most soldiers. In southern state courts reborn under Johnson's auspices and through the efforts of the army, former rebels initiated scores of suits against federal military personnel. These claimants asked damages for soldiers' actions made under martial law during and after the war. Army officers on southern duty confessed to the War Department that they were now fearful of exercising their assigned functions, for if these suits succeeded, they would be ruined. In these state courts judges, jurors, and claimants were white men, and almost all were former rebels. What soldier or white or Negro Unionist, officers inquired, could expect fair hearings from such assemblages?

Then, late in 1865, Stanton was sued for damages arising from the war-time arrest of a disloyal northern civilian, Joseph E. Maddox. If Maddox won against the mighty Mars, then similar verdicts would inevitably follow against hundreds of lesser officers.

Maddox's counsel, Caleb Cushing, soon realized that he was involved in something more than a damage claim. Cushing learned that the men who were now the President's chief advisers, the Blair trio (Francis P., Sr., Jr., and Montgomery) and Manton Marble of the *New York World*, had inspired Maddox to sue in order to break Stanton. Marble and the Blairs also wanted to frighten off army officers in the South from enforcing property confiscation and Freedmen's Bureau legislation. Perhaps with Cushing's connivance, Grant and Stanton learned what was afoot. Neither the War Secretary nor the commanding general assumed that the President was privy to the plot. But they were outraged that men close to the White House should involve the army in this combination of personal vendetta and policy struggle. They were bitter that they could not convince Johnson to order the southern state courts

⁶ Harold M. Hyman, *To Try Men's Souls: Loyalty Tests in American History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959), 139-218; Jonathan T. Dorris, *Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1953), Chap. viii; Fawn M. Brodie, "A Lincoln Who Never Was," *Reporter*, XX (June 25, 1959), 25-27.

to hold off the many damage suits pending against military personnel. The realization sank home at the War Department that the White House was not going to exert itself to protect soldiers from the legal consequences of wartime actions or postwar activities in the South. If something was to be done, army headquarters would have to do it.

Grant arranged a compromise with Cushing so that Maddox dropped the suit against Stanton. Moving to protect army personnel at least so far as suits originating in the South were concerned, Grant and Stanton took advantage of the fact that Johnson's Reconstruction proclamations sanctioned the use of martial law in the former Confederacy. On January 3, 1866, Grant issued General Order 3 to all southern commands. It was designed "To protect loyal persons against improper civil suits and penalties in the late rebellious States." By its terms, soldiers and civilians, including Negroes, who asserted that justice was unobtainable in southern state courts could transfer any suits pending against them to the Freedmen's Bureau paramilitary tribunals or to federal civil courts. In the former, martial law prevailed. In the latter, Congress had prescribed that all federal court personnel, jurors, attorneys, and claimants, had to swear an ironclad oath of past loyalty to the Union.

As a solution to the damage suit problem, General Order 3 was satisfactory if the situation remained static. But a perverse genius for instability seemed to afflict the leading actors and institutions on the political stage. After a nine-year abstention from significant policy pronouncements, the United States Supreme Court introduced a new and unsettling element.

In April 1866 the Court issued a preliminary judgment in the *Milligan* case. This involved the army's right to employ martial law in noncombat areas. Although the full opinion in this case was not to be issued until the Court's forthcoming December term, it was obvious in April that the jurists did not look kindly upon martial law's being employed anywhere except in the vicinity of battle. Would the Court in December bring forth a decision condemning all martial law usage in the postwar South? As the War Department saw the situation, the White House and the Supreme Court seemed determined to hamstring the army.

Stanton and Grant turned toward Congress in hope that the army might find friends on Capitol Hill. They knew that General Order 3 dealt only with damage suits from the South, but not with those like Maddox's claim, lodged by northern residents over whom the army now claimed no control. The Secretary and the general, therefore, pressured friendly congressmen to amend the 1863 Habeas Corpus Act to provide greater protection for officers who had acted under its provisions anywhere in the nation during the war.

Republicans in Congress cooperated.⁷ The army was finding its bulwark in Congress, not in the President.

This explains why Stanton and Grant chose to support the Freedmen's Bureau court system in its jurisdictional feud with the provost courts of the army field commands, a carry-over from war organization. Congress had given the Freedmen's Bureau special legislative support lacking in the provost units, which operated only on the wartime executive authority now questioned at the White House and in the Supreme Court as well as in lower federal courts.

But the War Department was still only disturbed, not wrenched away from support of the President. When Congress had convened in December 1865, Stanton and Grant cooperated with Johnson in suppressing the unsavory Smith-Brady Report, which indicated that the state governments set up by Lincoln in the Mississippi Valley were centers of vast corruption rather than of renascent Unionism. Johnson wanted the report suppressed because he believed that he was following Lincoln's policies and did not want his own state creations in the South tarred by the Smith-Brady brush. Grant wanted it hushed up because the report indicated that hundreds of army officers were involved in the sordid peculations discovered in Louisiana, Arkansas, and in parts of Missouri.⁸ But it is the fact of the cooperation more than the reasons for it which is significant here.

The Republicans of Congress, like the army officer corps, were not under Radical control in the early months of 1866, but they clearly distrusted Johnson's accomplishments in state making in the South. Congress prevented the "Confederate brigadiers"—the delegates-elect from the former rebel states—from taking seats at the national legislature, and the President and Congress commenced their joust for power. Meanwhile the evidence of southerners' attacks on northern test oath requirements, the inequities of the Black Codes, and the tragic race riot at Memphis gave added weight to Radical arguments that the South was unrepentant and untrustworthy.

As the debate raged, Johnson proved rigid and doctrinaire in his convictions concerning federal-state relations and the power and influence he had

⁷ Brief and correspondence on *Maddox v. Stanton* in Caleb Cushing Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. For General Order 3, see Adjutant General's Office, *Index of General Orders, 1866* (Washington, D. C., 1867), and *Army and Navy Journal* (June 16, 1866), 687. Details on the Milligan suit are in *The Milligan Case*, ed. Samuel Klaus (New York, 1929), 43-47.

⁸ The intra-army court dispute is best described in "Final Reports of Provost Marshals," MSS, Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives. Smith-Brady Commission Report and evidence, MSS, Record Group 94, *ibid.*, largely unexploited, offer rich rewards to investigators. See, too, *Investigations at New Orleans* (House Executive Document, 39 Cong., 1 sess., No. 96.).

at hand to wield. He deceived himself into thinking that he was emulating Lincoln not only in the form of Reconstruction policy, but also in the exercise of executive leadership. He failed to see that Lincoln had never sought perfection, but only realizable goals, had never been willing to battle Congress but instead compromised with or circumvented its leaders, and had never dared lose the support of the Union soldiers.

To be sure the war was now over, and the last mass armies were replaced by volunteer professionals. But that, to many Republican legislators and apolitical generals, was the point. It was well enough for Lincoln to have proclaimed emancipation and Reconstruction policies on the basis of war powers, but he had always agreed that these were extraordinary wartime acts, subject to postwar judicial or legislative amendment, and even during the war Congress had protested against Lincoln's assumptions of leadership. Now Johnson insisted that the war was finished, and that no one, therefore, could legitimately limit the revived southern states. Yet he simultaneously claimed a monopoly of pardoning and state-making power for the executive on which Congress might not infringe. He wanted presidential power and at the same time professed a doctrine of weakness for the entire national government, used the army to get the South on its feet, but refused soldiers the right to shackle the spurred boots of the former rebels so that they might not kick out again. This, at least, was the way many saw the situation.⁹

As if to prove the accuracy of this contention, Johnson on April 2, 1866, almost coincident with the preliminary Milligan decision, proclaimed that the rebellion was ended everywhere and that the southern states were restored to the Union. Army headquarters in Washington soon learned of the intense confusion into which military commanders in the South were cast by this statement and by the Court's pronouncement. Was martial law operating? Did the Freedmen's Bureau, under Congress' authority rather than the President's, now lose its power to hold special military tribunals if civil courts failed to provide justice? Did army personnel, insulted and assaulted by jubilant southern whites, now become defenseless?

A week later, on April 9, Grant sent out a confidential circular to military commanders stationed in the former Confederacy. He cautioned them to exercise discreet restraint in dealing with the "reconstructed" state governments and with southern civilians. But he also authorized them to employ martial law whenever they felt it necessary, despite Johnson's clear statement that peace was at hand and in defiance of the Court's inference that

⁹ These attitudes are best described in John L. Motley, *Four Questions for the People* (Boston, 1868), 31-32, and Laurence Oliphant, *On the Present State of Political Parties in America* (London, 1866), 9, 12-13.

martial law was inapplicable in a peacetime situation. In addition, Grant advised his subordinates that the Freedmen's Bureau was exempt from the President's jurisdiction, although it was part of the army, for the general concluded that the Bureau was Congress' creation. Where southern civil authorities failed to provide or obstructed justice to soldiers or to southern Unionists, then the army might still step in.

Clearly Grant was moving toward a sharp break with tradition so far as his view of civil-military relationships was concerned. Events had pushed him and Stanton so far by the spring of 1866 that the two men were willing to use their immense prestige and popularity within the army and with the public to counter what they felt to be error on Johnson's part. They were beginning to align the army with Congress because they felt that the President was leaving the soldiers helplessly adrift.

Neither Grant nor Stanton, however, desired an outright clash with Johnson. Both men still hoped to win him to their views, which at this point approximated those of moderate Republican congressmen. Thus, on May 1, Grant issued through normal army channels General Order 26, specifying compliance with Johnson's April peace proclamation. The general knew that his earlier secret circular had forewarned army commanders to ignore the President's peace policy if necessary. They could be confident that Grant would block any retaliation from the White House.¹⁰

More evidence accumulated, meanwhile, of outrages in the South directed against soldiers and Negroes. Feeling that they had acted correctly in checking the President's policy, Stanton and Grant were convinced that the army still had work to do in Dixie. They now shared the view of most army commanders assigned to southern stations that former rebels were incapable of true reformation. Grant went a step further to strengthen his subordinates' positions. On July 6 he issued General Order 44, supplementing General Order 3 of the past January. The July order empowered all army commanders in the South down to the post or company level to arrest civilians charged with crimes against federal civil or military personnel, or against "inhabitants of the United States, regardless of color, in cases where the civil authorities have failed, neglected, or are unable to arrest and bring such parties to trial." Those arrested were to stay in confinement "until such time as a proper judicial tribunal may be ready and willing to try them."

This curious document neither imposed martial law nor obeyed the

¹⁰ *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902*, ed. James D. Richardson (10 vols., New York, 1903), VI, 429-32; the Apr. 9 circular is in Box 102, Record Group 108, National Archives; and General Order 26 in Adjutant General's Office, *General Orders, 1866* (Washington, D. C., 1867).

President's clear statement of April that civil authority must take precedence over military power in the South. In substance, it openly informed Johnson, as many persons including Jonathan Worth of North Carolina complained to him, that Stanton, Grant, and most commanders of the army disagreed with his position and thought the April peace proclamation hasty, ill advised, unfair to military personnel, and an unreal estimate of southern conditions.¹¹

Later that month the President prepared to retaliate by reading a proclamation that the rebellion was not only ended, but spelling out that martial law was inoperative everywhere in the country. Thus encouraged, the "reconstructed" governor of Virginia on July 21 informed Stanton that he was reactivating the state militia and requested surplus army weapons for the members, all of whom, Grant learned, were whites, and most of whom were former rebels and holders of the President's pardons. Informed of this by Grant, Johnson refused to cancel the governor's request. To Grant this seemed equivalent to putting arms back in the hands of men still capable of using them against the victors, and the general delayed in complying.¹²

No open rupture yet existed between the White House and the army, but the President's southern policy was forcing individual army officials to make choices concerning their political allegiance. Stanton, Grant, Sheridan, Daniel Sickles, John Pope, M. C. Meigs, and Edward Ord were clearly in sympathy with the Republicans of Congress; William Tecumseh Sherman and Winfield Scott Hancock favored Johnson; E. D. Townsend remained determinedly neutral. But to attach traditional political party labels to these officers seems irrelevant and inaccurate. To be sure, Congress' supporters in the army were becoming "radicals" in the sense that they had come to believe that Negro suffrage must be imposed upon the South as the only means to insure the subordination of the old secessionist class. If Congress was willing to see to it that Negroes voted, then these men were going to favor Congress.

The New Orleans riot seemed to prove the acuity of the "radical" officers' analysis. Soon after that event, General Pope made a speech after first securing Stanton's and Grant's approval for its text. He argued that if the "military power is suspended" in the South, "at once the old political & personal influences will resume their activity," and the Copperheads of the North and the Bourbons of the South would seek again to sunder the Republic. It may be, of course, that Pope was merely spouting Republican propaganda. Yet

¹¹ *Ibid.*; Jonathan Worth to Stanton, July 30, 1866, Secretary of War Correspondence File, Box 317, Record Group 107, National Archives.

¹² The proclamation was issued Aug. 20, 1866; *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ed. Richardson, VI, 434-38; Grant to Stanton, July 21, 1866, Headquarters of the Army, Box 97, Record Group 108, National Archives.

the man was no politician, and he was risking his professional career by assuming this public position. In openly defying the President's orders, Grant was chancing the political laurels he secretly coveted, and Stanton, who wanted more than all else to get out of politics, was only making it impossible for himself to quit the War Department. These men wanted Pope's words to be clarion calls of warning, to alert a somnolent North to what they feared was a clear and present danger. Aging General Ethan Allen Hitchcock wondered, "Have we run our race as a Republic? I hope not—but fear it." Grant and Stanton were determined to use military influence to prevent the civilian President from keeping the nation on a disastrous course.¹³

Realizing that so long as Stanton and Grant were working together the army in the South was out of his control, Johnson decided to split the team, replace Grant with a more cooperative commanding general, and then to oust Stanton in turn. He brought the nation's third most popular man, General Sherman, to Washington to be at hand and offered Grant a trumped-up diplomatic assignment to Mexico, intending then to put Sherman in first as commanding general, and once Grant was away to slip either him or Montgomery Blair in as Secretary of War in place of Stanton. But Grant refused to play, Sherman would not take issue with his beloved commander, and the scheme foundered.¹⁴

Deciding to exploit Grant at home in the 1866 congressional elections if he could not employ him abroad, Johnson swung around the circle with the disgusted general in tow. The results of that "critical" election gave the Republicans a thumping victory and a working majority in Congress adequate to override any veto. Now the question was: Would Johnson acquiesce in the verdict of the ballot boxes? "Things have changed here somewhat since the last election," Grant advised in a confidential note to his protégé, General Phil Sheridan, but he could not predict the nature of the change.

Johnson had no intention of signaling surrender by suggesting that the

¹³ Pope to Grant, July 24, 1867, including pamphlet copy of Pope's 1866 speech initialed by Stanton and Grant, in Secretary of War Correspondence File, Box 327, Record Group 107, National Archives. Hitchcock's comment is on the margin of an article on Johnson in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in the Hitchcock Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁴ William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician* (New York, 1935), 77-79; Stanton to W. P. Fessenden, Oct. 25, 1866, Huntington Library. Including Stanton as a popular figure may surprise some, but see a contemporary attestation to Stanton's general prominence in *Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Honorable Joseph P. Bradley*, ed. Charles Bradley (Newark, N. J., 1901), 57. Such evidence is strikingly different from recent commentaries on Stanton in Otto Eisenschiml, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* (Boston, 1937), and Theodore Roscoe, *The Web of Conspiracy* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1959), which should be measured against James G. Randall's plea for a realistic appraisal of Stanton, in "Civil War Restudied," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (Nov. 1940), 455-56.

southern states ratify the pending Fourteenth Amendment. His secretary, Colonel William G. Moore, realized that the President was convinced that the white men of the South would be submerged under a sable sea if the freedmen exercised the ballot. This concern merged with Johnson's views of the nature of the federal system and the purposes of the Civil War, and it combined with his combative personality to help create the critical situation in which the nation found itself. "He seemed never to be happy unless he had some one to strike at or to denounce," recalled Hugh McCulloch, Johnson's personal friend, Treasury Secretary, and political supporter. As 1866 closed, Andrew Johnson should have been a very happy man.¹⁵

Somehow Johnson missed the significance of the 1866 election results, for they were barely counted when he "suggested" to Grant, bypassing Stanton completely, that the army issue ten thousand stands of arms to the revived Virginia state militia. Grant replied properly through Stanton's office that "I would not recommend the issue of arms for the use of the militia of any of the states lately in rebellion in advance of their full restoration and the admission of their representatives by Congress."¹⁶

The Republicans, now dominating Congress, prepared Reconstruction legislation for the South which included much of what the army had wanted since Appomattox: the continued use of martial law, legal protection for army personnel, and the disfranchisement of most former rebels. Then in the first weeks of 1867, the Supreme Court threw three bombshells into the legislators' works. In the *Milligan*, *Garland*, and *Cummings* decisions, the jurists denounced military trials of civilians and federal and state test oath laws as unconstitutional excesses. This at least was the way excited and indignant Republican spokesmen portrayed the decisions, while Democrats lauded them as noble defenses of civil liberties and individual rights.¹⁷ President Johnson was naturally delighted that his constitutional views now had had judicial support. To the army, however, the Court's pronouncements spelled disaster, and to Radical Republican congressmen, they were reactionary obstructions that must be overcome or ignored.

¹⁵ Grant to Sheridan, Nov. 15, 1866, Sheridan Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Hugh McCulloch, *Addresses, Speeches, Lectures, and Letters Upon Various Subjects* (Washington, D. C., 1891), 144; entry, Apr. 9, 1868, W. G. Moore MSS diary, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁶ Grant to Johnson, Nov. 9, 1866, Secretary of War Correspondence File, Box 323, Record Group 107, National Archives.

¹⁷ Henry Steele Commager's conviction, expressed in *Majority Rule and Minority Rights* (New York, 1943), 49, that the test oath and *Milligan* cases were "... perhaps the best example of judicial protection of personal rights in the whole of our history" seems valid only when considering these decisions from the viewpoint of the 1940's. In their contemporary context, however, they meant the continued subordination of freedmen and of white Unionists in the South. On Republican reaction, see my *Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Philadelphia, 1954), 113-20.

Now Stanton and Grant leaped fully over the wall into the Radical camp, Stanton openly and Grant still secretly. The two men arranged for Congress to provide for the army's needs. By the military appropriations bill of 1867, Grant was made autonomous of the President so far as the location of his headquarters was concerned and the funnel through which Johnson had to transmit orders to subordinate army commanders. Congress, in brief, determined that Grant, whom the legislators trusted, be the commander in chief as well as the commanding general of the southern section of the army. It would no longer be possible legally for Johnson to replace him, as the President had recently tried to do by sending him to Mexico, or to bypass him and Stanton as Johnson had done with fateful results with General Absalom Baird at New Orleans just before the tragic riot there. And by protecting Stanton in the War Secretary's position through the Tenure of Office Act, the Republican majority in Congress felt that it had effectively blocked the President's power to control the army in the South. To the surprise of many persons, Johnson at last seemed willing to acquiesce in the legislative will, although he did helplessly veto these laws as they emerged from Congress, in what Grant privately described as "the most ridiculous veto message[s] that ever issued from any President."¹⁸

Buoyed up by the Court's decisions, Johnson now had a new scheme. He intended to water down the effects of the Reconstruction law that Congress passed on March 2, 1867, by having Attorney General Henry Stanbery issue interpretations that would in effect let the President take the teeth from the disfranchising and Negro suffrage provisions. Again the army commanders found themselves at issue with the White House, for most of the senior officers felt that the Reconstruction law was a moderate and necessary enactment.

On March 27, 1867, Sheridan removed from their offices in the Louisiana state government men Johnson had pardoned for rebellion. This was the first test of a military commander's powers under the new law of Congress, and Grant secretly applauded the action. "It is just the thing," Grant confidentially wrote Sheridan, "and merits the approbation of the loyal people at least. I have no doubt but that it will also meet with like approval from the reconstructed." Johnson ordered that no more removals occur until the Attorney General's opinion was available. On April 3 Grant obediently transmitted this order, but also sent Sheridan a private message, warning him that "there is a decided hostility to the whole Congressional plan of reconstruction

¹⁸ Grant to E. B. Washburne, Mar. 4, 1867, Illinois State Historical Library. It has seemed unnecessary to document these familiar political events.

at the 'White House,' and a disposition to remove you from the command you now have. Both the Secretary of War and myself will oppose any such move, as will the mass of the people." They would oppose it by claiming that in the southern army commands Congress had made officers independent of the President, of the Secretary of War, and of the commanding general. Thus, if the President somehow managed to evade, transfer, or replace Stanton and/or Grant, the Reconstruction acts could still be enforced by local commanders.

Grant assured Sheridan that in the Reconstruction law, Congress "intended to give District Commanders entire control over the civil governments of these [southern] districts." The army commanders in the South "... shall be their own judges of the meaning of its provisions." By this analysis, any opinion of the Attorney General, the President's legal representative, would merely be advisory rather than binding on the military officers assigned to Reconstruction duty. The army in the South, Grant inferred, was Congress' army, no longer under the White House or under the War Department except for routine administrative purposes.¹⁹

To his friend, Congressman Elihu Washburne, Grant wrote "... all will be well if Administration and Copperhead influences do not defeat the objects of that reconstruction measure." He advised Sheridan, his favored subordinate: "Go on giving your own interpretation to the law." No wonder that after informing Grant that he intended to remove more of Johnson's state officials, Sheridan boasted to him that "The Attorney General should not hamper me too much; no one can conceive or estimate, at so great a distance, the precautions necessary to be taken ... here." When General Pope wrote Grant from Georgia that the Milligan decision would have no effect in his command, Grant replied: "My views are that District Commanders are responsible for the faithful execution of the Reconstruction Act of Congress, and that in civil matters I cannot give them an order. I can give them my views, however, ... and above all, I can advise them of views and opinions here which may serve to put them on their guard." Grant comforted Sheridan with the assurance that "I think your head is safe above your shoulders at least so that it can not be taken off to produce pain."²⁰ In midsummer the President told Grant that he was thinking of dismissing Sheridan. Warning the younger man, Grant again assured him of his and

¹⁹ Adam Badeau, *Grant in Peace* (Hartford, Conn., 1887), 70-71, 102; exchange between Stanton, Grant, Sheridan, and Johnson, Mar. 27-Apr. 13, 1867, Sheridan Papers.

²⁰ Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, 62, 65-68; Grant to Sheridan, Apr. 7, 1867, Andrew Johnson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Sheridan to Grant, Apr. 21, 1867, Sheridan Papers.

Stanton's support. "Removal cannot hurt you if it does take place, and I do not believe it will," he wrote. "You have carried out the acts of Congress, and it will be difficult [for Johnson] to get a general officer who will not."

Then the Attorney General issued his opinion. As expected, it watered down the significant aspects of the Reconstruction law and put the military commanders back into almost the same untenable position they had held before Congress enacted this law. Grant and Stanton moved swiftly on two fronts. They had cooperating Congressmen prepare supplements to the Reconstruction law, countering Stanbery's restrictive opinion. And while this was in the works, Grant bolstered sagging army morale by writing to Sheridan and to General Ord in Virginia that "the Attorney General or myself can do no more than give our opinions as to the meaning of the law." Responsibility and autonomy were still where Congress had vested them, in the district commanders, Grant insisted, and he advised them that "Congress may [soon] give an interpretation of their own acts, differing possibly from those given by the Attorney General."²¹

Johnson finally acted, but against Stanton rather than Sheridan. Striking now hard and swiftly, if belatedly, the President in early August suspended Stanton. Giving the slow-thinking Grant little time to ponder, Johnson swept him into the cabinet as combined War Secretary ad interim and commanding general. The President thought he had won the campaign now that Grant was in a frankly Democratic cabinet. Surely the general would benefit from exposure to proper constitutional and political views, and at the same time would become unacceptable as Republican presidential timber in 1868, thereby increasing Johnson's own chances for a Democratic bid, which he greatly desired. But Johnson was to find that Grant, while cooperative enough as Secretary of War in matters of administrative detail, was still acting against the White House when he put on his second hat, the peaked cap of the commanding general of the army.

On the day he took over the War Office, Grant had a trusted friend, General James Forsyth, secretly warn Sheridan of the impending changes, so that "in case the President insists upon your removal, that whoever may be assigned to your command, can be directed by General Grant to carry out the Military Reconstruction Acts as interpreted by you, and foreshadowed by your orders—in fact General Grant wants things in such a condition in Louisiana that your successor (in case you are relieved) will have to carry out the [Reconstruction] Law as you have viewed it; and without the opportunity to change your programme."

²¹ Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, 66, 83, 102; Grant to Sheridan, June 24, 1867, Sheridan Papers.

Over Grant's vigorous protests in the cabinet, Johnson decided to remove Sheridan from the Louisiana command. Flashing off a secret warning to the younger man, Grant advised him to "... go on your course exactly as if this communication had not been sent to you, and without fear of consequences. That so long as you pursue the same line of duty that you have followed thus far in the service you will receive the entire support of these Headquarters." By "these Headquarters" Grant meant himself as commanding general. In this capacity he considered himself antonomous of the President by virtue of Congress' enactments, far more independent than as interim War Secretary. Like Stanton he had learned that the power of this cabinet post was questionable and its tenure uncertain.²² Grant could not as War Secretary, for example, prevent Johnson from suspending Sheridan, Sickles, Pope, or Ord. As commanding general, however, he saw to it that all the army commanders in the South knew that they had a friend in the cabinet and at army headquarters. Until Congress reassembled in December 1867, when the Senate would judge whether Johnson had acted rightly in suspending Stanton, Grant held the War portfolio in a defensive, caretaker, rear-guard action. Johnson had trapped himself. Thinking that once Stanton was out of the way he could easily overawe Grant, whom he, Gideon Welles, and the Blairs mistook for a simple, malleable soul, the President learned that Grant definitely had a mind of his own.

But he learned it too late. In January 1868 Grant let Stanton return to the war office. When Johnson again sought to oust the sticky War Secretary in favor of General Lorenzo Thomas, Congress impeached the President. During the long weeks from February to May 1868, as Congress tried Johnson for seeking to be commander in chief of the army units stationed in the South, the nation teetered on the brink of renewed violence. Johnson escaped conviction by one vote. Cowed at last, he accepted General John Schofield as a compromise Secretary of War. A total breakdown of the national government was narrowly avoided. For the rest of 1868 Grant remained as commanding general, then he took over the presidency. During that year he saw to it that Johnson kept out of internal army administration. The President, at last brought to caution by the narrowness of the Senate vote on his conviction, accepted what he could not prevent. The Supreme Court sustained Congress' actions in the South, for the jurists had been frightened by the legislators' attacks on them.²³

²² Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, 104; Forsyth to Sheridan, Aug. 12, 14, 1867, Sheridan Papers.

²³ William A. Russ, Jr., "Was There Danger of a Second Civil War during Reconstruction?" *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (June 1938), 39-58. On the Court, see *Mississippi v. Johnson*, 4 Wallace, 465 (1867), and *Georgia v. Stanton*, 6 *ibid.*, 50 (1867). Leonard D. White,

Schofield served as a dignified clerk, bearing messages from White House to army headquarters and back, in the manner of prewar Secretaries of War. The military had won. Reconstruction proceeded henceforth in the manner that the soldiers had felt necessary since 1865, and with their own status and safety assured by Congress' laws and sympathy.

Until the complex interaction of the military institution with the civilian political branches of the national government is thoroughly reported, the full story of the background of impeachment will remain partially untold. Thus far the study of this period has suffered from the one-sided nature of the sources most widely utilized. The great *Diary* kept by Gideon Welles, for example, indispensable as it is, in the words of the man who edited it for publication, offers a view of events "... too much like sitting at the prize-ring and seeing only one pugilist."²⁴ The army was another contender, crouched in a posture of self-defense in a ring full of aggressive combatants. It should be invisible no longer.

The Republican Era, 1869-1901 (New York, 1958), 23-24, makes the point that in 1869 Grant took with him to the White House the conviction that the Congress should lead the President, derived from his participation in these events. The theory that impeachment was the result of the Radical leaders' interest in removing Johnson so that the industrial development of the North might continue unchecked is most recently criticized in Stanley Coben, "North-eastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Re-examination," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (June 1959), 67-90.

²⁴ *The Diary of Gideon Welles*, ed. John T. Morse, Jr. (3 vols., Boston, 1911), I, xxxi-xxxii.

★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General

CULTURE AND HISTORY: PROLEGOMENA TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CIVILIZATIONS. By *Philip Bagby*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 244. \$5.00.)

IN discussing "the nature of history," Bagby calls the writing of history up to the present "a semi-rational activity" and refers to historians as "the guardians of tradition, the priests of the cult of nationality, the prophets of social reform, the exponents and upholders of national virtue and glory." Since Spencer, Marx, and Spengler have failed to win general acceptance for their systems, the author contends that a new approach to history is called for. Bagby's general philosophic point of view is that of the empiricist, but the intuitions and insights of historians are not entirely disparaged. Dismissing Collingwood's interpretation as "unregulated intuitions" and Toynbee's views as "religious fantasies," he turns to anthropology for a set of concepts and methods in studying "more complex societies." He places greater reliance on cultural anthropology than on social anthropology and sociology, and such documents and artifacts as are available he utilizes in analyzing cultural forms and the dynamics of culture.

Among the anthropological concepts that he recommends to historians are culture, a culture, culture trait, culture complex, subculture, superculture, and cultural integration. He makes an interesting application of the anthropological concept of "base-line" in tracing Near Eastern civilization forward and backward from the ninth century by determining the persistence of a basic list of culture complexes.

In sketching briefly the history of anthropology, the author reveals his unawareness of the very strong concern in the United States with the method of comparison. As Oscar Lewis shows in his excellent chapter in *Current Anthropology*, many comparative studies have been undertaken during the past decade by American anthropologists.

Bagby defines civilization as "the culture of cities and cities we shall define as agglomerations of dwellings a majority of whose inhabitants are not engaged in producing food." He found nine major units in his survey: Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Indian, Classical, Peruvian, Middle American, Western European, and Near Eastern. He seems uncertain about Japan and Russia. In addition to his nine (or eleven) major civilizations, he lists a number of peripheral or secondary ones, for instance, Hittite, Burmese, and Malayo-Indonesian.

While rejecting the view that a science of history is impossible because the

causal relations of human events are too complex to be disentangled, Bagby does not rely on a single- or multiple-factor noncultural explanation (race, local environment, human nature) to explain cultural regularities. Instead he urges historians to try to establish the broader synchronic and diachronic regularities in culture itself which may help to explain individual culture elements. Such regularities include social structure, the articulation of whole civilizations, ideas and values, and the development of a particular culture trait or complex in one or in several civilizations. In contrast with Toynbee, Sorokin, and others, Bagby has sought criteria that will make it possible to distinguish genuinely comparable regularities.

The work concludes with an extremely interesting brief comparison of the evolution of Greco-Roman and Western European civilizations, and Bagby attempts to see whether some of the features of the developmental process noted in these two civilizations are characteristic also of the other major civilizations. At several points he states that his tentative conclusions require more detailed proof.

This is a refreshing, stimulating approach to the study of history. The author's death, shortly after publishing this volume, ended his quest for new ways of understanding history. The point of view is promising, and one hopes that others will test it further.

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AUS DREI JAHRTAUSENDEN: WISSENSCHAFTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN UND ABHANDLUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES JÜDISCHEN GLAUBENS. By *Leo Baeck*. With an introduction by *Hans Liebeschütz*. [Veröffentlichung des Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1958. Pp. vi, 402. DM 21.)

LIBERTY AND LETTERS: THE THOUGHTS OF LEOPOLD ZUNZ. By *Luitpold Wallach*. [Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany.] (London: East and West Library for the Institute, New York. 1959. Pp. x, 157. \$3.00.)

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE, YEAR BOOK III, 1958. [Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany.] (London: East and West Library for the Institute, New York. 1958. Pp. xxix, 416.)

For centuries traditional Jewish scholarship has concentrated on the ancient religious texts of Halakah (law) and Haggadah (lore). Judah ha-Nassi's (ca. A.D. 200) Mishnah, the first generally accepted code of laws, second in place only to the Books of Moses and the Prophets, and the Talmud which developed from it with the immense volumes of commentaries and supercommentaries, were studied throughout generations, in accord with the Biblical injunction. This impressive array of books, which even today form a substantial part of the Hebrew

publications, is a testimony to the dominant spirit in post-Biblical Judaism. Even Maimonides impressed himself immeasurably more through his Halakic code than his philosophic-theological *Guide of the Perplexed*.

Wissenschaft des Judentums with its historical and philological interpretation of the development of the Jewish spirit appeared necessary in an age when the walls of the ghetto were crumbling and an unfathomable gulf seemed to loom between Jewish religious tradition and modernity. Men of outstanding gifts such as Heinrich Heine found that they had to pay for their entrance into Western civilization by a complete severance of ties with their own community. They adopted the religion of the majority.

Leo Baeck's *Aus drei Jahrtausenden* is a republication of a volume of essays first printed in Berlin in 1938. Though permission for its publication had been given by the Nazi authorities, the entire stock was impounded and destroyed. The author was one of the last leading figures to represent the tradition of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (a term coined by Leopold Zunz in 1823). While in the nineteenth century the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* pursued the aim of serving the present through the critical understanding of the past, Baeck was interested primarily in describing the essence of Judaism. He attempted to grasp the essential and the permanent behind the fleeting appearances of history. In the essay "Has Traditional Judaism Dogmas?" the author, in contrast to Mendelssohn and the religious reformers, conceives Judaism as a revealed religion with its own beliefs, but without dogmas. The latter he ascribes to the lack of an authority (a church) to impose such dogmas. The duty to study the Torah independently, which rests on every individual, is in itself opposed to dogma.

Notwithstanding previous studies by Elbogen, Wiener, Bamberger, and the author himself, Wallach's book on Zunz is both a valuable and novel contribution. In his words, the book represents an endeavor "to put the leading ideas of Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) into the frame of the intellectual and political history of the 19th century." In this the author succeeds remarkably well, owing to his own wide knowledge and critical acumen. After an introductory chapter on the beginnings of the "Science of Judaism" (as *Wissenschaft des Judentums* is translated), the variety of Zunz's interests is exhaustively discussed under the headings "The Ideological Basis of Zunz' Work," "Zunz' Fight for the Emancipation of the Jews in Prussia," "The Foundation of Zunz' Science of Judaism, Principles of Jewish Historiography and Literature," and "Zunz' Participation in Prussian Politics." Through his *Wissenschaft* Zunz intended "to preserve the values of the Jewish past and present" from the ruins of inner disruption caused by the political aspirations of his time. Zunz's writings deeply impressed Franz Rosenzweig and the Jewish religious and renaissance movement in Germany between the two world wars. His belief that by 1919 a Hebrew book would be difficult to find appears ludicrous in the light of the renaissance of Hebrew in Israel and the publication of a book a day in that tiny country, among which ranks high Zunz's

own magnum opus *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* translated under the guidance of the Hebrew University's Professor Chanoch Albeck and annotated by him.

The *Leo Baeck Institute, Year Book III, 1958*, maintains the standard of the two previous volumes. Of the seventeen contributions Ernst Simon's "Martin Buber and German Jewry" and Selma Stern-Taeubler's "Eugen Taeubler and the Wissenschaft des Judentums" held special interest for this reviewer. Joseph Leftwich's "Stephan Zweig and the World of Yesterday" also deserves mention.

It is impossible to do justice to these excellent books within the narrow limits of this review. The reader will be richly rewarded.

Northland College

HARRY L. POPPERS

THE WESTERN INTELLECTUAL TRADITION FROM LEONARDO TO HEGEL. By J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. xviii, 522. \$7.50.)

VARYING opinions as to what intellectual history does or does not include impose upon writers in this field a special obligation of definition. For Bronowski and Mazlish intellectual history is concerned with "the whole spectrum of the mind," viewing ideas against the background of historical events as reported by the men to whom these ideas came. They refer to it as "a history of the life of ideas." Conscious of the dangers arising from the contemporary split between our scientific and literary cultures, they have written an integrated history.

Each chapter is devoted to a man or a group of men, set within a historical period and representing a way of thinking characteristic of the age. This involves a series of biographical sketches and discussions of historical movements and periods, such as the Reformation, the scientific revolution, the Elizabethan age, the Puritan revolution, and the great eighteenth-century revolutions. The debated question of the Renaissance is judiciously assigned to a lengthy footnote. The study begins with Leonardo, and it ends with Hegel and his dialectic of history.

In the period covered the authors find dominant trends in the rise of the scientific mind and the secularization of thought. Unfortunately the social sciences have lagged behind the physical sciences in their failure to combine the empirical and rational modes of inquiry and thus find as coherent a method. Naturally more of the authors' selected representatives are associated with the social than with the physical sciences. It is indicated wherever the thought or activity of these men shows a break-through into what is looked upon more generally as the attitude and method of the physical scientist.

Full development of individual and human freedom has been emphasized in the centuries following Leonardo. To the authors the real test of the vigor of a society is the measure of support and security given these two ideas.

In this highly readable book, the documentation is adequate without being

burdensome. While the method of using biographies and descriptions of historical periods tends to break the continuity, the authors have overcome this inherent difficulty with considerable success. Moving from one man or one period to another over a four-century span, specialists will find details over which to quibble, even though a high standard of scholarship is maintained throughout. No doubt everyone would have his own list of representative figures whom he would want included. The authors' choice is, however, as good as any that could be made.

This book will interest and inform the general reader, but it also has much to offer the specialist by way of approach, interpretation, and method of presentation.

George Washington University

ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

A SHORT HISTORY OF SCIENTIFIC IDEAS TO 1900. By *Charles Singer*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 525. \$8.00.)

THIS is a substantial revision and enlargement of Dr. Singer's well-known *Short History of Science*, first published in 1941. He has now enlisted the aid of Dr. Angus Armitage to summarize the researches of Otto Neugebauer on Babylonian and Egyptian science, Dr. Derek Price to consider Ptolemy and the astrolabe, and Professor Herbert Dingle to supply more than forty pages on the history of the physical sciences from 1850 to 1900. The actual historical element in Dingle's section is rather thin.

On the whole this is the same book with the same merits and defects as before. Singer undertakes to supply "an elementary idea" of the subject, and no reader looking into the history of science for the first time could fail to be charmed by the easy style and handsome format. In the matter of content, the verdict cannot be so favorable. The proportions of the book are puzzling. Pre-Socratic philosophers are discussed at inordinate length in view of the lack of reliable information about them and their doubtful connection with the history of science. So too with minor figures in classical Rome and translators from the Arabic or Greek into Latin. On the other hand, Aristotle's conception of mechanics, Galileo's reformation of it, and Harvey's discovery of the circulation are badly skimmed, together with chemistry in Dingle's section.

Even where a man, period, or field is treated at appropriate length, the book is sometimes marred by an emphasis upon nonessentials or by a failure to take account of recent research. The long section on Plato does not give any signs of familiarity with Professor Cherniss' study of the Academy or Neugebauer's elaboration upon this in the context of the history of mathematics and astronomy. They have shown that there is no real evidence that Plato exerted any influence upon the course of mathematical thought, let alone imparted to it, as Singer claims, "the systematic structure and logical finish that have since distinguished it." The section on Archimedes does not show any acquaintance with

recent Archimedean studies, where Professors Clagett and Moody have shown that there was an alternative, so-called "Aristotelian," derivation of the law of levers from entirely different premises than the Archimedean; and that if one will only resist the seductions of Plutarch's story about the bath, Archimedes' discovery of specific gravity is susceptible of being interpreted as an application of the law of levers. The discussion of Galen repeats the now exploded view that he believed in the ebbing back of most of the blood from the right ventricle of the heart into the venous system. Apart from the injustice to Galen, this results in the placing of William Harvey's work in a false perspective. On the scientific bearings of the transition from classical culture to Christianity, Singer has not profited from Richard Walzer's brilliant monograph on Galen's contacts with the Christians and Jews; nor does he bring out the basic similarity between alchemical doctrines and the death-and-regeneration philosophy of Christianity. The long section on Islamic science retells at great length the rather suspect history of the alchemist "Jabir," but does not refer to Ibn-Nafis, a discoverer of the pulmonary circulation, or Ibn al-Shatir, the fourteenth-century astronomer of Damascus whose lunar and solar theory was shown in 1957 to be virtually identical with that of Copernicus in the fifteenth century.

Undoubtedly the least satisfactory part of the book is the section on Scholastic science. No field of the history of science has been more brilliantly cultivated in this generation, by Anneliese Maier, Alexandre Koyré, Marshall Clagett, and A. C. Crombie. They have shown among other things the persistence of an Archimedean tradition in the medieval period, the drastic revision of Aristotelian physics in the "impetus" theory of Bradwardine, and the conduct of major empirical researches on the theory of the rainbow by Theodoric of Freiberg. Yet Singer says that all efforts "to raise the low estimate of the scientific status of the Middle Ages" have failed to demonstrate anything except some improvements in technology.

Singer is at his best in the period since the Middle Ages. Yet even here he repeats the unfounded statement that James Watt was dependent upon Joseph Black's theory of latent heat for the idea of a separate condenser in the steam engine; attributes to Linnaeus without qualification the view that there are now as many species as originally issued from the hand of God and there can never be any more, though Linnaeus abandoned this position in mid-career; and, finally, continues to attribute to Charles Darwin certain alleged "fallacies" which Sir Ronald Fisher, the great mathematical geneticist and student of evolution, has shown not to be fallacies.

It would be unfair not to acknowledge freely that any historian who casts as wide a net as this will fall into errors and omissions, but in the present book the number of these appears to be excessive and to evince almost a pattern of ignoring recent work on the most fundamental themes in the history of science.

Harvard University

DONALD FLEMING

DIE ÜBERSEEISCHE WELT UND IHRE ERSCHLIESSUNG. By *Otto Berkelbach van der Sprenkel et al.* [Historia Mundi, Volume VIII.] (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1959. Pp. 542. 29.80 fr. S.)

PRINCE Henry the Navigator died five hundred years ago in the village of Sagres at the southern tip of Portugal. The eighth volume of this distinguished German handbook of world history deals with the expansion that he inaugurated and with its effects upon the overseas world. Happily, it has appeared just in time for the great celebrations in honor of Prince Henry which were climaxed for the scholarly world by the meetings of the International Congress of the History of the Discoveries held in Lisbon during September 1960.

The volume is divided into two main portions. The first deals with the non-European world before its various parts began to feel the effects of European expansion; the second concentrates upon the expansionist activities of the individual European nations in the period from Prince Henry to the mid-nineteenth century. Its total of thirteen chapters is the work of fourteen authors: three Germans who wrote four chapters, three Englishmen, two Dutchmen, two Japanese who collaborated on one chapter, an Australian and an American who wrote a chapter on China, and one chapter each by Belgian and French authors. Clearly this is not, like many others, the history of a world-wide movement written from a national viewpoint.

For the purposes of world history the six chapters on the non-European world are more novel and informative than those on the overseas activities of the colonial powers. Hermann Trimborn (Bonn) surveys the high cultures of pre-discovery America with clarity and insight. He depends, however, too heavily upon the diffusion hypotheses of Heine-Geldern and too little upon the more recent and more tentative findings of American archaeologists and cultural anthropologists. C. H. Philips' (London) chapter on India from Asoka to Clive is one of the best guides through the maze of India's history that I have ever been privileged to read. The account of Indonesia by A. J. Bernet Kempers (Arnhem) centers on Java and is, like Trimborn's survey of America, heavily indebted to Heine-Geldern's insights. O. Berkelbach van der Sprenkel (Canberra) and L. P. van Slyke (Berkeley) describe China from the fall of the Han in A.D. 220 to the end of the Taiping rebellion in 1864. Their theme is that China's history shows alternating periods of political division and unity with gradual progress toward greater cultural unity. They are sensitive to the importance of the land frontier in the rise and fall of dynasties and are prone to overstress the role of the gentry in the determination of China's fortunes. Two Japanese professors from Tokyo, Saburo Ienaga and Tasaburō Itō, present an informative survey of high culture in Japan from the beginnings to the Meiji Restoration and relate it carefully to political and social developments. Douglas Jones's (London) short chapter on Africa south of the Sahara until the eighteenth century gives a good analysis of the problem of sources in writing African history.

The seven chapters on the expansion of the European nations are sober and sound, but they give the general reader the impression that everything in this field is settled for eternity. Surely from such distinguished authors as Rüdiger Schott (Bonn), Charles Verlinden (Ghent), Richard Konetzke (Cologne), W. Ph. Coolhaas (Utrecht), E. Tersen (Paris), and David B. Quinn (Swansea), we have the right to expect, even in brief surveys, some discussion of the tentative character of our understanding of the great points of debate and of the historiography of the discoveries. That they are all aware of these questions is apparent from their carefully selected bibliographies. Schott, however, is the only one of the writers who really attempts to bring out differences of viewpoint.

In terms of the *Historia Mundi* as a whole, this eighth volume carries forward the discussion of the non-European world inaugurated in Volume II and extends somewhat in scope the meaning of the discoveries for Europe as discussed in the early pages of Volume VII. Numerous cross references to earlier volumes and to other chapters in this volume, while perhaps necessary in a collaborative effort of this magnitude, annoyingly interrupt the continuity of the narratives. The sketch maps are neither numerous enough nor sufficiently detailed to give the reader the help he needs. There are no footnotes, but the chapter bibliographies at the end of the volume provide good introductions to the readily available source and monographic materials. Had the authors of the European chapters only been as adventurous as Prince Henry, this book would easily have been a real voyage of discovery for any inquisitive reader.

University of Chicago

DONALD F. LACH

THE UNIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1902-1910. By L. M. Thompson.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 549. \$8.00.)

THIS excellent study will prove very useful to students of South African history. It explains why South African leaders agreed upon unification, discusses the work of the Convention thoroughly, analyzes the principles and details of the constitution, and relates events associated with the first Union election and the formation of Botha's government. Its special value lies in Thompson's extensive use of private papers "to discover the motives and unravel the tactics of the men who played the leading parts in the story." Thompson thus succeeds in evaluating and adding significantly to the hitherto available records of the Convention—the minutes, Walton's *Inner History* (1912), and F. S. Malan's *Konvensie-Dagboek* (1951). The notes attest to the wealth of material drawn, in particular, from the Merriman, De Villiers, Steyn, Duncan, Fitzpatrick, and Smuts papers. Thompson also used original drafts of the famous Selborne memorandum and of constitutional materials prepared by Smuts and his confederates as these were organized, annotated, and preserved in the private papers of Lord Brand. While in some cases access to correspondence may have been restricted, there seems no

reason to believe that Thompson's work will undergo significant revision in years to come. The book is heavily laden with direct quotations and methodically discusses not only the main constitutional issues but many less interesting details. Some readers may hold these to be disadvantages, but it is precisely by its thoroughness, wealth of detail, rich annotation, appendixes, excellent bibliography, and full index that the book establishes its claim to a scholar's gratitude. Furthermore, the style is lucid and the organization excellent.

Thompson finds, on balance, that the policies of Milner and the Unionists made the establishment of a stable and humane South Africa immeasurably more difficult. While doing little to improve the prospects of nonwhites, Milner had encouraged unattainable aspirations among British South Africans and had increased Anglophobia among Afrikaners. Hence a strong anti-imperial reaction coincided with unification. Milner's "kindergarten" undoubtedly generated much of the enthusiasm for union, but it was Smuts, Steyn, and Merriman (acting for the Afrikaners) who controlled the timing of the movement, delaying it until their parties were in power in three of the colonies. At this time the British in South Africa were disunited, the Natal and Cape opposition leaders ineffective, and the Transvaal Progressives successfully disarmed by Botha and Smuts. Lord Selborne advised doubters that union meant rapid economic development accompanied by British immigration. In fostering unification, furthermore, Selborne did not liberalize the constitution in favor of nonwhites; indeed he may even have weakened the hands of those within the Convention whose views in this regard were most liberal. Among constitutional details the most interesting material presented relates to the assignment of seats and to the provisions for delineating constituencies. Most of the statesmen involved emerge with reputations little altered. Botha and Jameson, for example, are personable and benign, working to foster the belief that political union would facilitate a union of hearts, an optimistic view that Thompson believes was contagious within the Convention, but based upon poor reasoning. Readers of English will find new information about the roles of Hertzog and Steyn. De Villiers is pictured as the indispensable man. Thompson concludes by observing that South Africa should have followed the United States rather than Britain as a model. The Afrikaner-British split, the presence of nonwhites, the economic diversity of South Africa—all argued for a federal constitution with rigid, court-enforced assignment of powers rather than the unitary and flexible system which South Africa chose. In the South African constitution many hopes were misplaced and men showed the limitations of human foresight.

Long Beach State College

RICHARD H. WILDE

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE MIDDLE EAST. By *Walter Z. Laqueur*. [Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 81.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1959. Pp. x, 366. \$6.00.)

FROM the day the Bolsheviks seized power, Soviet policy in the Middle East has had but one ultimate goal: the achievement of Communist control over this important area. Consistency of purpose, however, has not been matched by consistency of tactics, nor has there always been total agreement among Soviet policy makers concerning the nature of the problems that confronted them in Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, and the Arab world. The turns and twists of Soviet policy in the Middle East are baffling to all but a small group of specialists of whom Walter Laqueur is one. As he states in the opening sentence of the introduction, "This is a first attempt to review and examine critically Soviet views on developments in the Middle East since 1917." Thus the author defines his purpose more narrowly than the title suggests.

The book is divided into two parts of approximately equal length. The first has relatively little to say about Soviet policy as such. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the newly born Soviet state and its southern neighbors, the conclusion of a series of political and commercial treaties, the settlement of various territorial and other disputes are not discussed. The author concentrates instead on the views of Communist theorists regarding the nature of Middle Eastern society, imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, and the prospects of revolution. Out of a past that today seems so distant, Laqueur calls up the shades of Pavlovich, Gurko-Kriazhin, Osetrov, Rotstein, Sultan-Zadeh, and many others who argued loudly in the 1920's about the "awakening" of the East. Their views were seldom either profound or realistic. Their audience was small, confined largely to students and the Comintern colony in Moscow. Their influence upon the policy makers in the top leadership of the party and the state was negligible. In the thirties Stalinist terror put an end to all debate.

The second part of the book deals with Soviet policies since Stalin's death. This is the period during which the USSR for the first time succeeded in building for itself a position of influence in the Middle East. Laqueur's survey of events is clear, his analysis sharp and convincing. Though documents on recent events are scarce, documents on the earlier period are not much more abundant, and the author makes excellent use of whatever is available.

In a pioneer work minor slips are inevitable. Laqueur deals not only with Russia and Communism but also, indirectly, with the modern history of Afghanistan and Iran, and here some of his statements are open to question. Thus to say that Amanullah "came to power as the head of the Young Afghan party" is to attribute to a personal struggle between him and his brothers an ideological meaning that it did not have. Nor is there any evidence that Reza Shah had any plans for a Greater Iran which would include "... certain Soviet territories in Turkestan and Transcaucasia. . . ." In both instances it seems that the author allowed Soviet writings to influence his views. One may also express regret that the important Soviet activities in northern Iran in 1941-1945, which led to the establishment of a puppet regime in Azerbaijan and to the famous dispute in the

United Nations, are barely mentioned. Yet these events signaled the resumption by Russia of an active role in the Middle East.

Laqueur is at his best when dealing with Soviet-Arab relations, especially with Syria and Egypt. He shows how the Soviets coordinated diplomacy, propaganda, and the lure of economic assistance to weaken the West's position and to break into the Arab world. He also shows the various disappointments and setbacks already suffered by Russia in her dealings with Nasser. This is a timely and an important book not only for the historian but for anyone concerned with world affairs.

Yale University

FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH

Ancient and Medieval

ÉTUDES SUR L'ÉCONOMIE ET LA SOCIOLOGIE DES PAYS SLAVES.

Volume II, THE ORIGINS OF FARMING IN RUSSIA. By R. E. F. Smith.

[École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section, Sciences Économiques et Sociales.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1959. Pp. 198, xi plates. 3,200 fr.)

THE title of this book does not do justice to its contents. Mr. Smith (who is at the University of Birmingham) combines history, archaeology, ethnography, climatology, geography, agronomy, and imagination to provide a fascinating account of the way in which the people who lived in the Russian plain earned their living from the land from neolithic times to the thirteenth century. He has drawn nearly all of his data from the recent work of Soviet scholars who, in the years since the end of World War II, have added much to our knowledge of prehistory and early history. But he has not always accepted their interpretations, and above all, he has rejected their determinism. Instead, as Professor Roger Portal points out in his preface, Smith accents the creation by men, within the limitations imposed by nature, of systems of exploitation in which logic and progress often yielded to custom and the weight of tradition.

The earliest farming communities that have been found in European Russia date back to the neolithic Tripol'e culture of the Ukraine. Excavations show that these people used slash-burn tillage, that is they made clearings in the forests, tilled them for a few years until soil fertility declined, and then made a new clearing. As farming spread, other techniques of farming developed, depending upon the geographical milieu and the cultural traditions of the societies that adopted these methods. Smith links these changes in techniques to the evolution of farming implements and to modifications in the social structure. As techniques of tillage improved, the need for group cooperation that had characterized the earlier methods of farming lessened. As a result, communal ownership and egalitarianism were replaced by social stratification. Tribal and clan chieftains emerged, and then territorial princes appeared. These men laid claim to the

surpluses produced by their followers. At first their property was in the form of goods, and particularly of livestock and metals. In the Kievan era they became landowners.

In tracing this evolution Smith refutes the theory advanced by B. D. Grekov and other Soviet scholars that there was a direct correlation between changes in tool types and stages of farming and social organization. He points out that surviving parts of implements that are apparently similar may in fact have been parts of entirely dissimilar tools, and that even similar tools may have been employed for very different purposes. Thus, certain tools are not necessarily peculiar to any one system of farming nor to any particular social or economic system.

Smith's book offers certain difficulties. He has organized it according to methods of farming, thus producing much repetition and seesawing back and forth between eras. At times he makes dizzying leaps from neolithic times to the last days of the Kievan Federation. It would have been helpful if he had presented a straightforward chronology of the successive cultures with which he deals, instead of the remarkably complicated chart that he does include. Finally, his literary style is not up to the standard that Americans like to think distinguishes English historical writing.

Princeton University

JEROME BLUM

THE FACE OF THE ANCIENT ORIENT: A PANORAMA OF NEAR EASTERN CIVILIZATIONS IN PRE-CLASSICAL TIMES. By *Sabatino Moscati*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1960. Pp. xvi, 328. \$6.00.)

IN recent years the study of the ancient civilizations of the Near East has acquired a new importance extending beyond the circle of specialists. We are witnessing, the author says, "a transformation for which the history of European culture suggests the apt name: the Oriental Renaissance." This volume, brought up to date and translated from the original Italian edition of 1956, is itself part of this movement. Director of the Center of Semitic Studies at the University of Rome and well known for his work on the history and culture of the ancient Semites, Professor Moscati has extended his field in the present volume to the whole Near East (with the exception of Crete, the Indus Valley, and South Arabia). In point of time, his panoramic survey ranges from the appearance of the first Sumerian documents shortly before 3000 B.C. to the victories of Alexander the Great. Combining the latest researches of specialists with judicious generalizations, the author has written a work that should interest both scholars and laymen. It is a valuable introduction, perhaps the best available in English, to the ancient Near Eastern civilizations.

Moscati has not confined himself to a mere summary of the outstanding political and cultural events; he has dealt "not with history, but with historical outlines; not with religion, but with the religious structure; not with literature,

but with literary genres; not with art, but with artistic types." Within this framework he has presented a comparative study of the several civilizations of the ancient Near East.

The eight chapters describing the achievements of these civilizations are organized into three main parts. Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians comprise "The Components" who provide the original elements of ancient Oriental history and culture. "The Catalysts" are the peoples of the mountains (Hittites and Hurrians) and of the desert (Canaanites, Aramaeans, and Israelites). While each of this second group of peoples leaves its own mark on its particular phase of history, as a whole their essential achievement is to synthesize the separate elements and thereby establish the ancient Near East in "its well-defined position as an historical entity beyond and above the individual national elements of which it is constituted." Of the two chapters comprising the third part, "The Synthesis," one describes the achievements of the Persians as the final expression of this synthesis, while the concluding chapter of the book deals with those common elements that are "a necessary preliminary to a general appreciation of the ancient Orient, both as a distinct historical and cultural bloc, and as a centre of power irradiating elements into the surrounding world."

Whatever one's personal reaction to schematic approaches may be—and this one has validity—the outstanding feature of the book remains its solid content, a feature enhanced by generous citations from the sources and pertinent references to the latest scholarly studies in all languages, including Russian. This very readable book also contains thirty-two plates, a detailed map, and a full index.

Tulane University

NELS BAILKEY

THE ANTONINE MONARCHY. By *Mason Hammond*. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XIX.] (Rome: the Academy. 1959. Pp. xi, 527.)

THIS book seeks "to describe the nature and changes of the imperial government from the accession of Vespasian in 69 to the death of Severus Alexander in 235." Since books dealing with the period rarely give details of the process whereby the Roman Empire was transmuted from a principate into a monarchy, the task was well worth undertaking, and Hammond was well equipped to undertake it. For over a quarter of a century he has been writing about the emperor's position, *de jure* and *de facto*, at various periods of the Roman Empire. This book displays his customary erudition: the emperor's role throughout the second century and for a third of a century before and after is thoroughly discussed, especially in its constitutional aspects. It is an impressive performance. Here at last we have an authoritative, well-documented study in English of the workings of the Roman Empire in its palmiest days, and few, if indeed any, readers will fail to profit greatly. Hammond has put us all in his debt.

His procedure is appropriately methodical. Using slightly less than half his space for exposition (the rest consists of notes collected, presumably to reduce costs, at the end of each chapter instead of the foot of every page), he devotes each of thirteen chapters to a specific imperial institution or group of institutions (e.g., the succession, imperium, censorial functions, legislation). After listing the known facts and modern conjectures about them, he gives a concise summary in a concluding section. The final chapter rounds out the whole in general terms and gives Hammond's considered views of how the Empire and especially the emperor's part in it developed.

The factual parts of the book will find few critics. There are some slips: how could there not be in five hundred closely packed pages? But the general standard of accuracy is very high. I found Hammond's analysis of the imperial titulary particularly stimulating, but every chapter contains something, and usually a great deal, for somebody.

It is the parts setting forth Hammond's own views that inevitably will provoke discussion and possibly dissent. He postulates a lack of political inventiveness in the Greco-Roman world: "in terms of classical political thought, the only possible government for an area too large to be a working city-state was a monarchical or autocratic government." Therefore Augustus' compromise inevitably developed into undisguised monarchy. The behavior of individual emperors or of the troops did little to accelerate or retard the movement: "nor can any moments in the movement be selected at which a new direction might have been given by other conditions or decisions." Perhaps not everyone will concede the original premise that one-man rule was the classical world's only answer to the problem of governing and administering a vast territory. To those who do accept it, the conclusion that absolutism was the inevitable result will seem sufficiently obvious. Even they may not agree with Hammond, however, that it all came about with the inevitability of gradualness. Without taking up his implied invitation to discuss the might-have-beens of history, one might view the known facts somewhat differently. Does it follow that, because Domitian's successors were just as autocratic as he was, his highhandedness did little to speed up the trend toward a dominate? When the soldiers insisted on their own candidate for emperor or engineered the death of Severus Alexander for seeming to promote "senatorial" rule, were they really exercising no constitutional influence? Even though some may suspect Hammond of overstating his case, all will have to ponder his words carefully.

The English style is sometimes clumsy and the material frequently repetitious. Printing and proofreading are slipshod; misprints are numerous and not always trivial. Still more serious is the lack of a serviceable index: the one provided is labeled, only too accurately, "selective." It omits many items that were appositely introduced into text and notes. This is regrettable since the book could make an excellent reference work.

McMaster University

E. T. SALMON

DIE ENTSTEHUNG EUROPAS VON DER SPÄTANTIKE ZUM MITTELALTER. Volume I, DER NIEDERGANG DER ALTEN WELT IM WESTEN. By *Heinrich Dannenbauer*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1959. Pp. xi, 409. DM 27.)

THE author clearly explains that it is his intention in this book simply to describe the time of transition from the death of the old world on the western shores of the Mediterranean to the beginning of a new one which extended to the northern and western parts of Europe. He quite correctly observes that it is not a matter of indifference whether one approaches these seven or eight centuries, "von der Spätantike zum Mittelalter," from the study of ancient or of medieval history. It is indeed an interesting point and one long familiar to those who have paid much attention to this historical period. Did Altheim stress antiquity at the expense of the Middle Ages? Was Pirenne, in treating this difficult period, perhaps too much the medievalist?

In this first volume Dannenbauer successfully contrives to strike a balance, and, as between ancient and medieval, his vision is clear and his perspective generally sound. This is not to say that he has no prejudices or penchants; nor is it to suggest that eyebrows will not be raised at some of his views. His interpretation of Constantine and Christianity, for example, will find dissenters. Many will doubtless find unacceptable his opinion of St. Augustine's complete lack of intellectual independence—"Er hat nie in seinem Leben gewagt, selbständig zu denken . . ."—as well as his judgments on St. Augustine in other respects. The very brief treatment of the Battle of Adrianople and its historical implications is disappointing, as is the general disregard of technology. Some readers may be astonished to learn that the Church, far from strengthening the unity of the Empire, contributed to its dissolution.

Dannenbauer disclaims any attempt to achieve completeness of treatment. His object rather is to call attention to the aspects of the life and thought of his period which he considers characteristic and significant for the future; whatever does not measure up to this standard is passed over. He explains also in the foreword that he has not intended his book for the specialist but for the intelligently curious general reader. He has consequently renounced the learned apparatus of references and the like which are usually found in scholarly studies. In my opinion it is regrettable that Dannenbauer chose to work in this manner. The learned and lively book he actually wrote deserved better than half measures, and in spite of all disclaimers by the author, it is disappointing to find in the notes so little critical comparison and interpretation of conflicting points of view. Critical comments are rare indeed, but interesting when they occur. See, for example, the references to Piganiol's description of the "flowering" of the fourth century and his explanation of the fall of Rome in the West. One could hardly expect a scholarly work, such as Lot's famous masterpiece on this period or Stein's or Piganiol's or Mazzarino's *Aspetti sociali del quarto secolo*, but Dannenbauer is familiar with

these and many works of similar stature. It is all the more exasperating to find no mention at all of studies equally deserving of consideration.

But this is enough of carping. The book is well organized and clearly written. It is a pleasure to encounter a treatment which so well balances political, economic, and military affairs with matters of thought, letters, and religion. Some of the sections on the theological controversies are particularly well done, for instance, the dispute over the Council of Chalcedon and the Acacian Schism, though one is surprised to find no mention of Boethius' intervention in the politico-religious affairs of Theodoric's reign. It is difficult to believe, however, that even Dannenbauer's former students would not have appreciated an old-fashioned bibliography and index.

Stanford University

WILLIAM C. BARK

LA CIVILISATION MÉROVINGIENNE D'APRÈS LES SÉPULTURES, LES TEXTES ET LE LABORATOIRE. Volume IV, LES CROYANCES; CONCLUSIONS, INDEX GÉNÉRAL. By *Édouard Salin*. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1959. Pp. 579. 3,900 fr.)

SCHOLARSHIP in the twentieth century has become so intricate that the completion of a major historical work in four massive volumes is in itself occasion for applause. When that work comes from the pen of a mining engineer and metallurgist who has placed not only general medieval historians but also archaeologists, folklorists, art historians, historians of technology, and students of religious history much in his debt, enthusiasm is supplemented by astonishment. And Salin is a man of sensibility. "Les tombes," he says, "savent se faire entendre à qui se penche sur elles." One must disagree with him in some details, for instance, the famous Hornhausen reliefs are not Merovingian but probably of the tenth century (cf. *Antiquity*, XVI [June 1942], 175-77). Yet surely the dead have murmured to him some of their inmost thoughts and emotions.

One is appalled at the picture that emerges of the problem faced by Christian evangelists in the north. The warrior's marvelously laminated sword was designed to deal with visible foes, but, whether among pagans or nominal converts, the patterns on his sword belt were equally directed toward fending off the invisible. Barbarian religion was intensely practical, a device for manipulating ambient powers to secure peace of mind and physical well-being.

Heavily underscored by these researches are the continuity and vividness of contact between Merovingian culture and that of the Asian steppes, and through it even with the Far East. The evidence is chiefly iconographic, but as the last pages of this volume were going to press, Salin added a Chinese belt-hook very recently found in a Merovingian grave.

From the standpoint of cultural history, one of the most curious of Salin's findings is the consistent allergy of the Franks to representational art. Even when

they used the form of an animal or divine personage, the natural aspect tended to fragment itself or to develop into an abstract pattern with only vestigial representative elements. That this should have occurred simultaneously with the rise of iconoclasm in the Christian Orient and with the banning of representational art in Islam raises questions of connections among group psychologies which Salin does not broach but which historians must eventually face.

One wishes that Salin had marshaled in detail the evidence for his belief that about A.D. 500 the chaos caused by invasion began to be replaced by a new stability and termination of the decline of population in Gaul. In recent years archaeologists like Timm, Firbas, and Dannenbauer have been arriving at the conclusion that, in southern Germany and the Rhineland at least, reconstruction and repopulation did not begin until nearly A.D. 600, a date more consonant with what little we know of the fearful plague of the middle sixth century. Perhaps the revival was not simultaneous in all parts of Europe. The exact definition of its geographic and temporal variations is a matter of great importance, since this low point and subsequent resurgence mark the rational boundary between antiquity and the Middle Ages.

University of California, Los Angeles

LYNN WHITE, JR.

BYZANCE AVANT L'ISLAM. Volume I, BYZANCE ET L'ORIENT SOUS LES SUCCESEURS DE JUSTINIEN, L'EMPEREUR MAURICE. By *Paul Goubert*. With an introduction by *L. Bréhier*. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1951. Pp. 332.)

At the death of Justinian, wrote J. B. Bury, "the winds were loosed from prison; the disintegrating elements began to operate with full force; the artificial system collapsed; and the metamorphosis in the character of the Empire, which had been surely progressing for a long time past . . . now began to work rapidly and perceptibly."

This judgment of the British historian on the reign of the immediate successor of Justinian has long prevailed; it has found its way into general histories; and one still encounters it. Scholars, such as the late E. Stein, have been trying, however, to point out that the disintegration of which Bury speaks was by no means general, that it cannot be said to characterize the reigns of Tiberius II (578-582) and Maurice (582-602), and that at the most, it can only be used to describe the reigns of Justin II (565-578) and Phocas I (602-610). But the period as a whole was not examined in great detail until Father Goubert began his systematic studies in order to cover the history of this period with all of its ramifications.

Thus far Goubert has published two volumes: the one under consideration and another which appeared five years later. As its subtitle indicates, the present volume has as its subject the relations of the Byzantine Empire with the East,

though there are scattered references to other developments and character sketches of some of the principal people, including Justin II, Tiberius II, Maurice, Priscus, Chosroes II, and Philippicus. The reign of the Emperor Maurice is, however, the focal point.

The major part of the volume treats the relations between the Byzantine Empire and Sasannid Persia. Important sections, however, are devoted to the relations of the Empire with the Armenians, the peoples of the Caucasus, and the Arabs. It is the author's thesis, which has some basis in fact, that the position of the Empire in the East at the time of the overthrow of Maurice was stronger than it had been even during the reign of Justinian. The Persian menace had been successfully repulsed; most of the Armenians were within the orbit of the Empire, while some of the peoples of the Caucasus, notably the Georgians, were under its influence. All this was the work of Maurice, who was also responsible for the dissolution of the Christian-Arab state of the Ghassanids. Despite Goubert's opinion, the breakup of the Ghassanid state may have been a mistake, because it removed a possible obstacle to the expansion of Islam some fifty years later.

Goubert has based his work upon sources that he has obviously read well. His account is as detailed as the sources permit, but it lacks that quality of integration which can only be the product of thought. It can best be described as a detailed and accurate chronicle.

This is not to say that it is not a useful contribution to our knowledge of the period. Its usefulness would have been enhanced considerably, however, by the inclusion of better and more readable maps.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 13. (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin Publisher, Locust Valley, N. Y. 1959. Pp. ix, 273. \$10.00.)

NUMBER Thirteen of the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* presents the usual rich and varied collection of articles on Byzantium to the scholarly world in the form of eight articles and six shorter notes. Four papers delivered at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium in 1957 (on Byzantium in the seventh century) form the core of this work. These four studies make a real and substantial contribution to furthering historical knowledge of this the "darkest" age in Byzantium's history. In the first essay ("The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century") Ostrogorsky determines the position of Byzantium in the surrounding world after the collapse of Justinian's empire, and describes it both as the Byzantines themselves saw their new position and also as the present-day historian sees it. In the third article ("Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages") Ostrogorsky treats the

problem of urban continuity during the seventh century, the great period of transition in Byzantium. Relying largely on bishop lists of the councils of 680 and 692, the *notitiae episcopatum*, and finally on the numismatic evidence, he concludes that urban life and money economy continued in Asia Minor, but were severely disrupted in the Balkans as a result of the Slavic invasions. In the second article ("Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century") Charanis examines the seventh century as a period of both continuity and change in the ethnic composition of Byzantium. He shows that though the loss of many provinces in Asia, Africa, and Europe tended to make the empire more nearly homogeneous, nevertheless the continuity of certain ethnic groups in Asia Minor and the great demographic changes in the Balkans due to the Slavic invasions strengthened its multinational aspect. The most important of the ethnic minorities were the Armenians and Slavs, whereas the predominant group, both in language and religion, was the Greek. In the fourth article ("Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century") Lopez discusses the important role of maritime commerce in the economic readjustment of the empire during the crisis of the seventh century. Teall's long study ("The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire 330-1025") discusses the important problem of Byzantine grain supply after the loss of the grain-producing areas, especially Egypt, to the Arabs. At first the loss of these areas was accompanied by "diminution and deconcentration" of demand resulting from the decline of population in Constantinople and decrease in the size of the armies. Then, gradually, new sources of grain were developed, the Danube area, Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly, and Asia Minor. Der Nersessian ("The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad or of the 'Royal Historian'") draws attention to the fact that the Chronicle of Constable Smpad, recently edited by S. Akelian, is in fact the same as the so-called "Royal Historian," but that the previous editions were abbreviated versions of this new text. Unfortunately space limitation does not permit even the most cursory description of the remaining articles and notes by Alföldi, Ross, Underwood, Galavaris, Mango, and Georgacas.

University of California, Los Angeles

SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

THE CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE: MONARCHY AND NATION (987-1328). By Robert Fawtier. Translated by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1960. Pp. x, 242. \$7.50.)

Most American scholars have never seen the original edition of this book. It was written in the dark days between the fall of France and Fawtier's imprisonment by the Nazis, when it was difficult to find even the titles of books published in France, let alone obtain copies. This new English version will make the work available to a much wider group of readers.

In spite of a misleading statement on the jacket, this is not a book for begin-

ners. It assumes a considerable knowledge of French history, and some of its most important ideas are advanced without emphasis and without much supporting detail. The more one knows about medieval France, the more one finds to ponder. This is the distilled wisdom of a scholar who has studied French history all his life, who has an extraordinary knowledge of the archives, and whose judgments are always based on a careful consideration of the evidence. Even where we cannot agree we must give careful consideration to the author's conclusions.

Fawtier is interested chiefly in the personalities of the kings and their advisers, and in the growth of the royal domain. In spite of his wide knowledge of the subject, he says relatively little about institutional and administrative history. The institutions of the great fiefs are almost entirely neglected, and while the chapter on the machinery of royal government is a miracle of condensation, it is still impossible to cover this topic thoroughly in thirty pages. On the other hand, his two brief chapters on social change and the intellectual and moral climate contain some of his most stimulating ideas.

Fawtier's estimates of the ability and character of the Capetian kings would be accepted by most modern scholars. He perhaps exaggerates the strength of the first four kings of the dynasty, and thus gives Louis VI a little less credit than he usually receives. On the other hand, he is certainly right in claiming that Philip I and Louis VII have been underestimated. I doubt that "Louis IX sought to make the French monarchy absolute," at least in the sense in which later kings did. As Fawtier himself points out later, Louis IX was quite willing to allow a considerable degree of autonomy to the lords of the great fiefs, as long as they were loyal to him. Fawtier credits Philip the Fair with a little more breadth of vision and ability than I do, but we would both agree that he worked hard at his job and that he was responsible for the basic decisions made during his reign. Fawtier stresses the fact that during the great period of expansion in the thirteenth century the kings relied on legal procedures rather than on force, and that this regard for legality made it much easier for them to retain and consolidate their acquisitions. This is true, but force was always in the background and occasionally it had to be used. And even the emphasis on legality was not without its dangers; it could degenerate into chicanery which injured the reputation of the monarchy.

One last word of caution: it is not surprising that under the circumstances in which the book was written several essential, but recently published studies were overlooked. It is surprising that they were not included in the reading list in the English edition, since some attempt was made to bring it up to date. Schramm's work on French kingship, for example, is nowhere mentioned. A graduate student preparing himself for work in medieval French history would be well advised to seek his list of basic books elsewhere.

Princeton University

J. R. STRAYER

THE SCIENCE OF MECHANICS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Marshall Clagett*. [University of Wisconsin Publications in Medieval Science, Number 4.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1959. Pp. xxix, 711. \$8.00.)

PROFESSOR Clagett's colleagues have known for some time that he has been collecting in his library and organizing in his head the basic material for a much-needed critical history of mechanics in the Middle Ages. The present work realizes all their high expectations. Here in one volume we have both a collection of the essential documents of, and a historical commentary on, the work of the successors of Aristotle and Archimedes and the predecessors of Galileo and Descartes. The texts have all been translated from the original Greek, Arabic, or Latin into English, and the original Latin of some texts at present available only in manuscript or rare early printed editions has also been included. Seized upon in the Middle Ages—indeed by Aristotle—as the foundation of the whole science of nature and developed in the seventeenth century as a sort of pilot exercise in the mathematical and experimental methods of analysis, the science of motion has long been recognized as central to the whole process of the formation of modern science. It is scarcely a matter for dispute that, as Clagett writes, anyone who is honestly interested in this “enormously complex *historical* process” must “examine in detail the germinal concepts” of the periods before the seventeenth century. “Such an examination will reveal the elements of continuity (and thereby also of novelty) in the new science.” Building upon the heroic pioneering work of Pierre Duhem and the more critical investigations of Anneliese Maier, Alexandre Koyré, Ernest Moody, and other contemporary scholars, and vastly extending the range of knowledge by his own researches, Clagett has provided in this volume both the texts that will enable the reader to judge for himself the historical significance of medieval mechanics and a history that presents the author's own evaluation of this episode in scientific thought.

Essentially the volume is a documentary analysis of the main critique of Aristotelian mechanics that was one of the central preoccupations of scholastic physics in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. But it includes also the beginnings of the story in antiquity and its continuation into early modern times. Thus Part I gathers up the threads of Greek (especially Archimedean) and Arabic statics known to the medievals and carries the story down through the Jordanus de Nemore texts to Galileo's *Mechanics*. Part II takes the story of medieval kinematics from its Greek origins through the work of Gerard of Brussels and Thomas Bradwardine and his successors at Merton College, Oxford, especially through the important Merton Theorem of Uniform Acceleration, carries on with the work of Nicole Oresme and his successors on the application of two-dimensional geometry to kinematics, and concludes with Galileo's *Two New Sciences* and Beekman's *Journal*. Part III begins with Aristotelian dynamics and includes the discussions of Bradwardine's Law of Motion by Oresme and others, the impetus theory of projectile motion of Franciscus de Marchia and

John Buridan, the analysis of free fall from Buridan to Galileo, and mechanics and cosmology from Buridan and Oresme to Copernicus. Part IV contains an extremely valuable and well-judged account of the reception and spread of English and French mechanical ideas from the fourteenth century to 1600 and a critical summary of the scope of the medieval contribution to the formation of the early modern science of motion.

Throughout his magisterial treatment of these themes, Clagett keeps to his last, with only brief references to parallel developments in scientific methodology and philosophy which provided the intellectual environment of the thought he is tracing. It would indeed have been impossible to include more in a work already long enough and rich enough for one volume. This is a major contribution to historical scholarship, and it is much better organized than any of its great predecessors. If one may venture a general historical conclusion, it is that the main attention of medieval mechanics was directed toward a theoretical and mathematical analysis of a possible world and that the whole framework of the analysis in the Greek theory of proportions made experiment largely inapplicable. Galileo picked up this medieval analysis for his own purposes but broke new ground by announcing that he would apply it to the one actual world he knew and by succeeding in his attempt.

Princeton University

A. C. CROMBIE

MITTELALTERLICHE STUDIEN: GESAMMELTE AUFSÄTZE. By *Theodor Mayer*. (Constance: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1959. Pp. 507. DM 35.)

THIS collection of twenty-two essays that have appeared previously between 1929 and 1957 was prepared under the auspices of the city of Constance in commemoration of the author's seventy-fifth birthday and in recognition of his activity since 1951 in the Städtische Institut für geschichtliche Landesforschung des Bodenseegebietes. A *Rückblick* by the author reveals the environmental background inspiring these essays, while reflecting also his extraordinary productivity in *Reichs-Landes-und Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters*. Mayer's reorientation from archivist and regional economic historian to general European historian is clearly traceable in these essays. This change was a result of his sojourns in the Universities of Prague, Giessen, Freiburg i.B., and Marburg and from his activities as director of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the Deutsche historische Institut in Rom during 1942-1945. In Prague his interest in regional history and colonization was stimulated and broadened by the impact of the Bretholz theory that the Germans in Bohemia are descendants of the ancient Marcomanni and Quadi. Stemming directly from this is his essay "Aufgaben der Siedlungsgeschichte in den Sudetenländern," a provocative study of the origins of the two peoples and of the problems posed by the impact of the two cultures upon one another in that region. His essays associated with this

period and with his subsequent removal to Freiburg reflect also his broadened concept "that history is not determined by a single factor but by a more or less large number of factors to which belongs *die Landschaft, der geographische Raum*." This regional influence is apparent in most of the essays and is paramount in "Der Staat der Herzoge von Zähringen," "Die Zähringer und Freiburg im Breisgau," and "Die Besiedlung und politische Erfassung des Schwarzwaldes im Hochmittelalten." Of special interest is the author's effort to ascertain whether or to what extent the clearance of land for cultivation as a motive for colonization in the east can apply also to colonization of the earlier settled districts such as the Rhein-Main region.

Two of the essays are outstanding. "Das österreichische Privilegium minus" treats the origin of the duchy of Austria as a growth by crystallization around the original Ostmark as a nucleus, an accomplished fact that the *Privilegium* of 1156 merely sanctioned. The "Königtum und Gemeinfreiheit in frühen Mittelalter" is a study of the relations of the *Freien* to the king in the early Middle Ages, their descent to serfdom after the Carolingian era, and their ascent in the late Middle Ages to *freien Bauern* in the service of territorial princes.

As one belonging to the "wegweisenden Historikern unserer Zeit," it is not surprising that Mayer's generalizations and interpretations frequently assume the character of intellectual irritants, dicta of debatable soundness. In "Die mittelalterliche deutsche Kaiserpolitik und der deutsche Osten," which pays tribute to the role of Freiherr vom Stein in initiating the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1819, the author occasionally loses his historical objectivity in a fervor of patriotism and is wont to surround medieval German motives of colonization with an aura of sanctity. He is at his best in treating the Ficker-Sybel controversy as a stimulus to German scholarship in the realm of *Kaisergeschichte*. He views colonization as Germany's "höchste kulturelle Tradition" and Germans as the most successful *Kolonisationsvolk* in the Middle Ages. Ten years later he pursued this subject further in "Das Kaisertum und der Osten im Mittelalter," in which he conceives of the "Medieval Empire" not as a political power in the ordinary sense, but as a creative force without which there could have been no European *Ordnung*.

While the essays as a whole sustain a high level of excellence, "Der Vertrag von Verdun" is singularly faulty, factually erroneous, contradictory, and bizarre in its generalizations and interpretations.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

RUSSIA AT THE DAWN OF THE MODERN AGE. By *George Vernadsky*. [A History of Russia, Volume IV.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 347. \$7.50.)

THIS fourth and latest volume of Professor Vernadsky's multivolume history

of Russia advances his account to the end of the reign of Vasilii III in East Russia and to the Church Union of 1596 in West Russia (Belorussia and the Ukraine). It is to be complemented by Volume V, which will cover the evolution of the Muscovite state under Czars Ivan IV and Boris Godunov and the main aspects of Russian culture in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As in the preceding volumes, Vernadsky seeks to present in English an up-to-date account of Russian history which makes use of recent scholarship as well as older works. Though he modifies some of the established interpretations of persons and episodes, he eschews any new large-scale or monistic interpretation. The one theme he advances as giving some unity to Russian history in the Mongol and post-Mongol periods is the expansion of Moscow, whose purpose was to gather and unify the forces of the Russian people in the face of continuing Tatar pressure.

This volume falls essentially into two parts. The first, Chapters II–V, describes the process of unification of East or Great Russia by the grand dukes of Moscow; the second, the last three chapters, deals with the political and social organization of West Russia in the sixteenth century, the struggle between Moscow and Poland for control of West Russia, the rise of the Ukrainian Cossacks, and the Church Union of 1596. Vernadsky sees the unification of Great Russia, achieved under Ivan III and Vasilii III, as the first stage of Muscovite expansion. The next stage was the efforts to acquire control over West Russia, leading to conflict with Poland-Lithuania. It is in these two stages that the foreign policies of modern Russia and the basic patterns of its political institutions were established.

In this volume Vernadsky has given greater attention to political and diplomatic developments than to social and economic. He begins with a chapter on Ivan III and his marriage to Sophia. The next chapter, on the conquest of Novgorod by Moscow, which points up the dilemma of Novgorod's position between Moscow and Lithuania, is perhaps the most original chapter in the book. Chapters III and IV discuss the foreign and domestic policies of Ivan III, and Chapter V the foreign and domestic policies of Vasilii III. Both Chapter I and the conclusion of Chapter V depreciate Byzantine influence and stress Muscovite factors under the Tatar impact as shaping and giving direction to Russian autocracy.

The three remaining chapters on West Russia give Vernadsky's history of Russia a better balance than most, which have customarily treated Lithuania-Russia tangentially rather than as part of the mainstream of Russian history. The complexity of the history of the grand duchy of Lithuania, pressed as it was by Poland and the Baltic Germans from the west and the grand duchy of Moscow from the east, is well handled by Vernadsky, who brings out the many cross-currents in the Lithuanian state and points up the differences in political and social structure between Lithuania and Moscow. He gives particular attention to the spread of Protestantism, which for a time promised to win out in West Russia.

No author of a general history can hope to please every reader with his selection of topics and scope of treatment. From my viewpoint Vernadsky has given insufficient attention to several aspects of the history of East Russia, though they may, of course, receive fuller treatment in later volumes. Very little is said about the legal and economic status of the peasants, about commerce and manufacturing, the role of the grand duke in the Muscovite economy, and the condition of the clergy and the church. Vernadsky discusses the role of the boyars at the court of the grand duke, yet the "preparation" for the violent conflict between Ivan IV and the boyars is missing. One gets an inadequate sense of the basic character of the constitutional issues involved in the changing role of the boyars as it is encroached upon by the grand dukes. It is to be hoped that the next volume addresses itself to this topic.

May Vernadsky have many more years to bring his life's work to fruition.

University of California, Los Angeles

RAYMOND H. FISHER

ERFORSCHUNG DES MITTELALTERS: AUSGEWÄHLTE ABHANDLUNGEN UND AUFSÄTZE. Volumes I (2d ed.) and II. By *Paul Lehmann*. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1959. Pp. viii, 412; 299. DM 48 the set.)

For a half century it has been almost axiomatic for scholars whose interests are medieval literature, textual criticism, and paleography to read whatever Paul Lehmann has published. Of a great tradition—that of Traube, Manitius, and Grabmann—Lehmann has been in the first rank of those who have systematized the study of medieval literary sources and who have scoured the archives and libraries of Western Europe in the quest for manuscripts within whose minuscule or Beneventan scripts is to be found the thought of medieval Europe. The twenty-four studies selected for these two volumes reflect the range of Lehmann's scholarship—from the early Middle Ages into the Renaissance—and the penetrating thought that is typical of all his work. These studies, all of which appeared previously in German journals, virtually cover the course of Lehmann's writing from the first decade of the twentieth century down to the 1950's.

Volume I, which is but an unaltered reprint of articles published in 1941, requires only brief comment. Seven of the fourteen articles deal with manuscripts and centers such as Fulda, Trier, Constance, and Basel which were famous in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance for their collections. Two of these essays, one on the library of Fulda and the other on Constance and Basel as book markets during the periods of great Church convocations, have become classic. Another study on the oldest book catalogue of the Netherlands is a fine piece of detective work in the codices. Of special interest for the philologist is the introductory essay on suggestions and tasks for Latin philology in the Middle Ages. Perhaps most helpful for medievalists are the contributions to medieval literary his-

tory and the literary picture of Charlemagne found in the Latin writings. In the latter article Lehmann has a masterful summary of the sources and what each contributes to the historical portrait of the great emperor. Writing on the acrimonious controversy over Einhard's use of Suetonius, Lehmann sensibly argues that Einhard secured some of his ideas and literary organization from the Roman biographer, but that he was far from being a simple plagiarist ("Der Suetonbenutzer Einhard ist ja auch keineswegs zum Suetonsklaven geworden").

In the somewhat slimmer second volume the articles are again about evenly divided between those on medieval manuscript centers and those of a historical character. Studies of obvious interest for the historian are those dealing with the influence of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* in the Middle Ages, with traces of classical thought in medieval texts, with Cassiodorus, with the history of some of John the Scot's works, and with the problem of the Carolingian renaissance. In regard to this last problem, Lehmann skillfully combines his erudition and common sense. Far from sharing the exaggerated view of the Carolingian renaissance characteristic of the Dopsch school, Lehmann finds a renaissance in the late eighth and ninth centuries. For him it is fundamentally a limited revival of spiritual and literary activity. And thus limited, the Carolingian renaissance did not, as did the Italian Renaissance, transform the basic intellectual attitude of man.

Although occasional reediting could have saved awkward repetition of quotations and expressions, such minor defects do not mar the value that medievalists will find in these attractive volumes.

University of California, Berkeley

BRYCE LYON

Modern Europe

CHRISTIANITY IN A REVOLUTIONARY AGE: A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. Volume II, THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN EUROPE: THE PROTESTANT AND EASTERN CHURCHES. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1959. Pp. viii, 532. \$7.00.)

THE author of this work of prodigious historical scholarship is well known in theological circles for *The History of the Expansion of Christianity*. His new venture of which the first volume has appeared and a third volume, dealing with the twentieth century is in prospect, is in a sense the keystone of his earlier history. It reveals the same passion for detail and for comprehensiveness characteristic of his previous volumes. No corner of Europe is neglected. The Baltic States and the Balkan nations are each treated in detail. Nineteenth-century Russian history of the Orthodox Churches and of the sects are carefully chronicled. Naturally the Scandinavians are not neglected.

Of course the main interest centers in the two great Protestant nations, Germany and Britain, but France is not omitted, nor are the lesser nationalities in Great Britain, Wales, and Ireland, which are carefully scrutinized. In Germany every important theological figure and movement of the nineteenth century are described and analyzed. We hear not only about Schleiermacher and Ritschle but also about Harrman and Tholuck and many minor figures. The constant tension between rationalism and pietism is adequately described and the influence of Hegel and Kant on theology is analyzed. Hegel's influence on the Biblical scholars such as Wellhausen, who interpreted Old Testament literature in terms of the idea of progress, is established. Adolf Harnack is of course fully treated. But though the book rather heavily emphasizes theologians and their various schools, the history of the "inner mission" movement is also considered, as is the curious domesticated socialism of the kaiser's court preacher, Adolf Stöcker. The relation between pietism and German nationalism, the subject of many historical treatises, is on the other hand not fully developed.

The history of the various sects and churches of Great Britain yields not only the chronicle of the Scottish churches, the story of the "disruption," and the subsequent reunion between the "free" church and the established church, through an arrangement in which the church of Scotland is at once "established" and yet free. Latourette is diligent enough to go into all the nooks and crannies of the churches of Wales and Ireland. Primary attention is of course given to the Church of England and the various "non-conformist" churches. The story of the evangelical and the Anglo-Catholic movement in the Church of England, of Pusey and Froude, of the tractarians and the Oxford movement, is traced with remarkable fairness and comprehensiveness. That rather strange form of "non-conformity," the Methodist movement, is faithfully chronicled, though in this as in other cases, not much attention is given to the relation of Wesleyanism to the labor movement. Latourette is in fact more interested in the relation of the churches to intellectual than to social movements. But one cannot do everything in so comprehensive a survey.

In the history of the Scandinavian churches we learn of the Danish Bishop Gruntvig, the founder of modern Danish dairy agriculture and of the "folk schools" as well as of that somber religious genius, Soren Kierkegaard. In Sweden the life and thought of Archbishop Soderbloom, one of the founders of the ecumenical movement, is particularly emphasized. Though Russia is not purely European, the story of the Russian Orthodox Church and of its various sects is traced and the significance of Tolstoi, Kropotkin, Nicolai Berdyaev is analyzed as fully as possible.

This work of comprehensive scholarship suffers from only one defect, the defect of its virtue. One loses sight of the woods for the trees.

Union Theological Seminary

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

ZEITGESCHICHTLICHE BETRACHTUNGEN: VORTRÄGE UND AUFSÄTZE. By *Hans Rothfels*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1959. Pp. 263.)

IN these "Reflections on Contemporary History" Professor Hans Rothfels presents a series of selected lectures and essays written during the last decade. After an introductory section on the nature and tasks of contemporary history, the author organizes his book into two major divisions.

The first part, "Retrospect," consists of such varied topics as a commemoration address celebrating the seven hundredth anniversary of Königsberg, lectures on the frustration of the national state in East Middle Europe, 1848-1849, and on Bismarck and the nineteenth century, and an essay on "Ten Years after the Capitulation." The second major part concerns such diverse "Contemporary Problems" as basic questions of nationality; language, nationality, and peoples' community; the crisis of the national state; the political legacy of the German resistance; meaning and boundaries of foreign policy; contemporary reflections on realistic politics; coexistence; the Baltic area in international politics; and historical reflections on German reunification.

These are essays in the grand manner, an art now apparently on the decline. Throughout one detects the influence of Friedrich Meinecke, the author's teacher and the object of his veneration. Each lecture and essay is grounded in a strong sense of history, is well planned, carefully organized, not incomprehensibly abstract.

Perhaps the most interesting and provocative chapter is that on the German resistance in World War II. Few will take issue with the author's admiration and praise for the heroes of July 20, 1944, those German officers who, unable any longer to stand the odor of Nazism, sacrificed their lives in the anti-Hitler movement. Some will accept without question Rothfels' version of the role and effect of the German opposition to Hitler. Others will say that the German underground was always weak and that, in the final analysis, Hitlerism was smothered from outside Germany, with very little help from inside the country. There will also be a difference of opinion on the author's characterization of the Nazi system "as enemy garrison" and his insistence on "the fiction of an identity between Germans and National Socialists."

Rothfels scornfully attacks the thesis of collective guilt—that the Germans as a nation be considered guilty of the crimes of National Socialism. The denunciation is understandably intense, almost bitter. There is no doubt that the author, who left Germany during the Hitler regime to teach at the University of Chicago and who returned to his homeland after the war, is a conservative patriot whose instincts and ideas are civilized, decent, and just. It is, indeed, a tragedy that honorable men like Rothfels had so little influence on the course of recent phases of German history.

City College of New York

LOUIS L. SNYDER

DEN DANSKE REGERING OG NORDSLESVIGS GENFORENING MED DANMARK: EN HISTORISK FREMSTILLING. Volume IV, KONG OSCAR II OG DANMARK, ARTIKEL V'S OPHÆVELSE OG DET CUMBERLANDSKE ÆGTESKAB. By *Aage Friis*. Completed and edited by *Povl Bagge*. (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard. 1959. Pp. 522. D. kr. 26.00.)

L'EUROPE, LE DANEMARK ET LE SLESVIG DU NORD: ACTES ET LETTRES PROVENANT D'ARCHIVES ÉTRANGÈRES POUR SERVIR À L'HISTOIRE DE LA POLITIQUE EXTÉRIEURE DU DANEMARK APRÈS LA PAIX DE VIENNE, 1864-1879. Volume IV, DU 1^{er} FÉVRIER 1879 AU 31 DÉCEMBRE 1879. Supplement 1, 1872-1879; Supplement 2, 1864-1879. By *Aage Friis* and *Povl Bagge*. (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1959. Pp. 624. D. kr. 30.00.)

WHEN Aage Friis died in 1949, he left unfinished the work to which he had devoted most of the last forty years of his life. Much of his concluding volume had been written when, at the end of the war in 1945, he had to begin incorporating new evidence that was found in the captured files of the German Foreign Office and in the papers of the royal houses of Denmark and Sweden. His manuscripts, notes, and documents were turned over to his long-time assistant and collaborator, Povl Bagge. The friends of Friis may regret that he did not have the satisfaction of seeing the conclusion of his labors in print, but that regret is tempered by the realization that his successor has maintained the level of scholarship and judgment that distinguished the preceding volumes of the series. In editing, organization, and interpretation these books are models of scholarship.

Article V of the Treaty of Prague at the end of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 included a provision looking to the retrocession of the northern districts of Schleswig to Denmark. Friis' previous volumes presented the most complete account of the history of this provision and of the negotiations between Prussia and Denmark for its execution. The negotiations lapsed in 1868. Early in 1879 it was announced in Berlin and Vienna that a treaty, signed on October 11, 1878, had abrogated the relevant section of Article V. The revision of Article V is the principle theme of the present volumes. When the Austrian archives were opened after the First World War, Friis published an article in which he showed that the date October 11, 1878, for the Austro-German treaty was a deliberate falsehood. The actual date was April 13, 1878. The German documents complete this story. Bismarck took advantage of Austria's need for diplomatic support in the Balkan crisis of early 1878 to obtain release from an obligation that was onerous for Germany and of no value to Austria. The act was kept secret with more than normal precautions to avoid publicity about Austria's need and to maintain the appearance of Bismarck's role as the honest broker. So long as Article V was in full force, it was hoped in Denmark that somehow it would be carried out. Those hopes were shattered by the publication of the treaty of abrogation. In strict law,

only Austria had the right to demand its execution. The reason for publication with the false date was the "Cumberland marriage."

The two older daughters of Christian IX of Denmark had made brilliant marriages. In the early fall of 1878, it became known that the youngest, Thyra, was engaged to Ernst August, duke of Cumberland and son and heir of George V, king of Hanover. It was an engagement of affection, but it had unhappy political implications for Denmark. George V had stubbornly refused to recognize the Prussian annexation of his kingdom and when he died in June 1878 Ernst August insisted on maintaining his rights to his father's crown. His proclamation, communicated to the principal courts of Europe, irritated and worried Bismarck. Among other elements of the situation was that one of Ernst August's adherents and advisers was Windthorst, Bismarck's bitterest and most skillful opponent in the *Kulturkampf*.

In newspapers and political discussions, Thyra's engagement was linked to the eventual cession of North Schleswig. Bismarck decided to end the speculation by publishing, with Andrassy's consent, the agreement they had reached, but to postdate it. Publication would also warn the Danish court and cabinet that Germany was not pleased at the honor shown to leaders of the subversive Guelph party. To all but the few who knew the real facts, it seemed obvious that Thyra's engagement had resulted in the revision of Article V.

The history of that article on the scale presented by Friis and Bagge is of special interest to Danes for whom the retrocession of North Schleswig was the all-important national question. That question at times, however, was believed to be a more dangerous element of high politics than it actually became. It occupied the attention of the highest circles in the capitals of the great powers and of Sweden, but none of them risked the wrath of Bismarck by taking it up officially.

University of Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

LA CRISE ALLEMANDE DE LA PENSÉE FRANÇAISE (1870-1914). By *Claude Digeon*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1959. Pp. viii, 568. 20 new fr.)

WRITTEN initially as a doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne, this work undertakes to examine the effects on the French intellectual climate of the defeat of 1870-1871. Digeon has stated plainly that his work is limited to the German question emanating from the defeat. His major purpose has been to analyze the reactions of the generations of French intellectuals to the defeat of France and her subsequent relegation to a secondary role in Europe. No attempt has been made, for instance, to deal with the discussions of social policy which had their origin in the Commune, nor does the author examine the Dreyfus affair except in its minor aspect of Franco-German relations. Within the limits which he has set for

himself, the author has produced a work of synthesis worthy of the traditions of French scholarship.

Digeon discusses the principal writers, and many minor ones, of each generation. One sees the stupefaction of the old men of the generation of 1830; the cataclysmic shock to the men, then in full maturity, of the generation of 1850—Renan, Taine, Fustel de Coulanges; the compensating internationalist viewpoint of the left wing of the generation of 1870, scarcely preoccupied with things German and accustomed to France's new, diminished position in Europe—Daudet, Maupassant, the "school" of Zola; the antirepublican Right which enhanced the sense of disaster to the advantage of nationalism—Bourget, Brunetière, Lemaître; the sharpening of the split, in the generation of 1890, between "the two Frances," the intellectual result of an inferiority complex engendered by the defeat which culminated in the Dreyfus struggle and the triumph of the internationalist and republican Left; the final Germanophobia of a new generation, who were convinced of the inevitability of war and who interpreted it as the struggle between civilization and barbarism—Péguy, Psichari, Romain Rolland. But to sketch in such brief fashion is scarcely to convey either the breadth or depth of this admirable work.

Digeon has produced a distinct contribution to a knowledge of the intellectual milieu of the Third Republic; it should prove of great value to those concerned with nineteenth-century political, social, and intellectual history. The work should also be rewarding for the average historian as the more intellectual facet of the field of public opinion, so ably treated in its more usual aspect for the Second Empire by Lynn M. Case and for the Third Republic by E. Malcolm Carroll.

One regrets that Digeon does not seem to have consulted Case's work, particularly as concerns the role of public opinion in the war crisis of 1870. A certain thinness in those portions dealing with European diplomacy does not detract appreciably from the work nor does it constitute a valid criticism of the principal theme of the study, but even so, one must still protest that the Congress of Berlin took place in 1878 rather than 1879. Luxurious notes at the bottom of the page will generate considerable nostalgia, but, as if to balance the scales, only a skimpy *Index des Noms* is provided.

Air University

J. L. BOONE ATKINSON

EUROPE'S COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY: AN EXPERIMENT IN ECONOMIC UNION. By *Louis Lister*. (New York: Twentieth Century Fund. 1960. Pp. 495. \$8.00.)

THIS is a technical, factual account of the Coal and Steel Community, well documented with footnotes, replete with eighty-four tables, some extending over several pages, and eighteen figures and diagrams. No attempt can be made to

explain what a vast fund of statistical information is presented here, but anyone seeking material which is related directly or indirectly to coal and steel production in the Community will do well to consult this volume. Often countries other than the ECSC states are included, and the statistics cover periods before the Community was established in 1952. As appendixes there are excellent brief notes on "Varieties of Coal and Steel," "The Concentration Movement in the French Steel Industry after World War II," and "The Reconcentration Movement in German Coal and Steel after World War II." Scattered through the volume there is information on related subjects, often covering British or United States conditions. The note on the Moselle Canal, discussing the agreements on construction and evaluating the effects the canal will have on freight rates for the different production areas, merits special mention.

When the Community was formed, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg decided that a common market could be "reconciled with state sovereignty over transport rates, taxes (direct and indirect, including payroll taxes), wages and social benefits, immigration and mobility of capital." Aside from these fields the national states have continued to exercise real power in those areas from which they have supposedly withdrawn. But progress has been made toward achieving a common market, and none of the dire consequences predicted by some of the opponents of the attempt, such as "drastic shifts in the location of production, the growth of German hegemony, the development of bureaucratic control by the High Authority, have come true." As greater integration is achieved through the implementation of the European Economic Community Treaty this will affect the ECSC, and there is no reason why these two organizations should always exist separately. On the other hand, Euratom, which deals with very special matters, even if it were included in one of the other communities, would require its own special administration and separate rules.

This volume, which is to be consulted rather than to be read from cover to cover, is for the specialist; it presumes much basic knowledge. A general reader, for example, would hardly gain a clear idea of how the governing institutions of the Community are established from the brief account presented here. Nor is there any special mention of the personnel directing the Community. But to anyone interested in technical problems of European union or in past, present, and future coal and steel production of Western Europe, this study will be a boon.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

ENGLISH GENEALOGY. By *Anthony Richard Wagner*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 397. \$8.80.)

UNTIL now no book has existed "which attempts a survey of English geneal-

ogy as a whole or which tries to give a general picture of what is known . . . of the ancestry of people of English stock." Wagner's work fills that need.

Wagner, Richmond Herald, is the head of Herald's College in London and has at his disposal perhaps the greatest collection of heraldic and genealogical source material in existence and has access to all public and many private documents. He is an enthusiastic Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists.

The author shows clearly that the English yeoman is the stock from which the gentry is derived, that squires were chosen from the gentry, and knights from squires. The noble families of the realm rose from knighthood.

As Trevelyan's *English Social History* revealed new and valuable insight and emphasis in the writing of history, so Wagner's book deals with English social history, especially that concerning the various classes and stations in life of men and women from the time of William the Conqueror to the present. A part of the procedure of governing a kingdom consists in the work of heralds and officers of state who are charged with the safekeeping of documents regarding the possessions of every person in the land. William I brought about the survey known as the Domesday Book, whereby everyone knew exactly the bounds of his domain and possessions, what each was worth, and the amount for which he should be taxed. Wagner thinks in terms of this social framework. He gives the history and interrelation of each class in society.

Beginning with the roots—Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Welsh, and Scots—he discusses the various social strata of barons, peers, knights, squires and gentry, franklins and yeomen, laborers, tradesmen, the clergy, lawyers, and scholars. Next he writes of the rise and fall of families, analyzing the changes which ability or neglect cause over the centuries. Few remain static. Gifted individuals make their way to the top, and vast holdings of peers may fall into ruin through waste. His valuable chapter on migrations displays the search for lands overseas and the effect that these changes have upon the kingdom itself.

Three chapters deal primarily with genealogical problems and show the contrasts between British and American methods. As a younger nation, many of our vital records are in print; our wills and deeds are in our courthouses—accessible, indexed, and chronologically arranged. We abound in well-documented genealogies. There are fewer English genealogies. The excellent *Victoria County Histories* and the *Complete Peerage* and their own proved pedigrees are preferred by many English families.

The English Church has had charge of records of baptisms, marriages, burials, and wills. Land records are found in the county courthouses. Portions of these records, however, are to be found in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Chancery, and the Herald's College. The Public Record Office alone has fifty million documents, mostly unindexed. Charters go back to Anglo-Saxon times. Close Rolls, Patent Rolls, Fine Rolls, and Chancery records date from 1200 or earlier.

This is a rewarding book for genealogists and for those interested in English history.

Peterborough, New Hampshire

FREDERICK L. WEIS

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN ENGLAND. Volume III, THE TUDOR AGE. By *David Knowles*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 522. \$10.00.)

MANY students have been waiting for this concluding volume of the Regius Professor's great work. After the researches and controversies of more than eighty years, it is almost a definitive statement about the suppression of the abbeyes, if definitive statements are ever possible about matters so involved. The view is altogether new. This is not a historian of the Reformation dealing with one of the great incidents of the revolution, but the historian of medieval monasticism writing his concluding chapters. It is from the point of view of monasticism that the story is told. The lustful king, the crafty minister, the clerics themselves are incidental to the subject. Thus, we escape the recriminations; and the unpleasant mutual bad feelings of the old historians are here urbanely and modestly set right, when the need arises.

In the opening 140 pages such leading figures as Islip, William More, and Kidderminster, as well as "the bucolic earthbound creatures that the visitation records suggest" are described. Then for fifty pages, while reading Erasmus and seeing Wolsey busy as a monastic destroyer, we perceive "the gathering storm." The monks surrender to the royal supremacy, and the Holy Maid of Kent, More's "wicked woman of Canterbury," goes to her doom. Then comes the heart of the matter, the suppression and dissolution of the eight hundred or so houses. There are chapters, on Syon and the London charterhouse, of such comprehension that none but a monk could have written them. And the same may be said of the account of the king's visitation of 1535. As to the notorious reports, our monk-historian has had the courage to do what the rest of us have shirked, to bring out into the open what the startled Lingard 140 years ago called "the mass of whoredom" of the northern *comperta*. What we referred to only in paraphrases, Dom Knowles has named like a man, and he has faced the problem of its credibility. It is interesting that he was once "persuaded that the reports of Layton and Legh were in substance justified." Our judgment of these accused houses "may well be adverse, but we cannot in justice glance at the *comperta* and exclaim, 'What need have we of further evidence?'" Knowles studies the complicated income and expenditure accounts of the houses and faces such questions as "Where did the £4000 and odd of Glastonbury's income go after about 50 monks had been fed?" He also deals with the vexed business of the condition of the dispossessed monks and nuns. Gasquet, Coulton, and Baskerville are all faithfully judged.

The serenity of this book is something new in the literature of the subject. The story is everywhere alive with personal thought of a high order. Even the hardened professionals will find themselves refreshed by this reconsideration. My own first impression is an admiration for Knowles's study of the origins of that climate of acquiescence that made this great transformation possible, nay easy. A second choice, among things to praise, is the chapter on Erasmus, perhaps the central chapter of the book. This marvelously balanced study has a further importance for those concerned with the critical position of historical studies. Considering the revolution accomplished by Erasmus, Knowles speaks of his literary style as being his most powerful instrument and compares him to Cicero, Voltaire, and Newman. The effect of Knowles himself upon his reader is proof that his judgment is sound. Not since Froude has there been such sustained good writing, immediately effective, in a piece of serious history. For many years now the general decline of the power to write English correctly and effectively has been very evident. If it continues, history will fall back into chronicle. The historian will rejoice at the striking reappearance of the literary art in this book. It is more than an art. The Regius Professor's practice shows rather that style is the adequate expression of a mind that can judge and make distinctions. It is one of the historian's indispensable tools.

University of Notre Dame

PHILIP HUGHES

LORD BURGHLEY AND QUEEN ELIZABETH. By *Conyers Read*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1960. Pp. 603. \$10.00.)

WILLIAM Cecil, Lord Burghley, died on August 4, 1598, some six weeks short of his seventy-eighth birthday. Conyers Read, professor emeritus of history at the University of Pennsylvania, died on December 23, 1959, having lived a little more than eight months longer than the statesman to whose biography he had devoted the last thirty-odd years of his life. We all have reason to be grateful for those extra eight months. Nothing can compensate for the loss of the greatest American historian of Elizabethan England, and it is especially sad that Read did not live to see the publication of this volume and to enjoy its acclaim. But those last eight months, lived fortunately with a clarity of mind and vigor of body much greater than were permitted to Burghley prior to his death, enabled Read to pass final page proof and to hold in his hand his finished book. He was essentially a modest man, but among his many gifts was that of being able to view his own work with detachment. We may hope, therefore, that he anticipated the verdict that this book is his best, that it shows the increasing command of the grand strategy of his profession, the increasing wisdom and balance of judgment, the increasing charity and compassion for which every scholar hopes, still unflawed by any signs of the flagging diligence and wandering attention which sooner or later every scholar fears.

This volume takes Burghley from January 1570 when the rising in the north had just been suppressed, through the last twenty-eight years of his growing fame as Elizabeth's wisest and most trusted councilor, and really justifies, as the first volume by the nature of its task could not, the bracketing of Elizabeth's name with Cecil's in the title. This part of the narrative is more than just the history of Burghley's public career, necessarily involved with that of the Queen he served; it is the story of a unique relationship, and makes one wonder whether there is another instance in history of so great a ruler served by so great a minister with such steadfast and increasing mutual confidence and affection over so many years. Not that matters always ran smoothly between them. Who always got along with Elizabeth? As late as March 1587 Burghley was afraid, or seems to have been genuinely afraid, that by backing the execution of Mary Stuart he had lost his place in his mistress' heart and at her council table. He had not, of course, and soon they were pulling together as smoothly as of old, so smoothly that one is puzzled to know which of their differences of opinion were real and which were play-acting. Burghley was held by his contemporaries to be an enigmatic man. We find him today a rather inexpressive writer. Yet he gave himself away far oftener than did Elizabeth, and it is one of the minor delights of this volume to watch his attitude toward the Queen gradually change from suspicion, exasperation, and alarm to a growing trust and admiration, and an affection never quite untinged by apprehension. One wonders if Read himself mellowed in his attitude toward the Queen as he wrote these pages. Or did he simply, in accordance with his principles, keep his own opinions silent until they could be expressed in terms of the documents?

The method in the second half of Cecil's biography is the same as the first, and of the earlier biography of Walsingham, and indeed in all of Read's serious work. The story is written directly from the documents and told, wherever possible, in the documents' own words with a freshness and authority otherwise unattainable. The price is the eye- and back-punishing labor of turning tens upon tens of thousands of manuscript and printed pages. The danger, as one can see here and there in *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, is that the narrative may get so clogged by detail that it seems at times to move no faster than the daily events it chronicles. What one chiefly notices in this second volume, aside from a greater mellowness of judgment and warmth of human sympathy, is the greater command of this difficult technique. The time span covered contains the whole of Walsingham's public career and a decade more. The range of events is wider and the mass of documents requiring examination must have been several times as large, but the total length is less than half of that of the Walsingham biography. The pace never flags or falters, and the details follow each other so easily and naturally that one forgets the enormous labor of winnowing, and the unfailing skill which chose just these details and no others out of a multitudinous array. This is a triumphant demonstration of Read's method at its best. There is a second risk to the

method which no doubt Read consciously accepted. He used very few recent monographs, none or almost none concerned mainly with continental affairs. And no life would be long enough to check the reports that reached England from abroad against the relevant European archives. Thus, although Read can always inform us how near the truth were the reports of foreign ambassadors in England, when he tells us about what was going on at Heidelberg or Vienna or Blois he is in fact only describing what Elizabeth or Cecil or Walsingham were told was going on. Probably he thought this so obvious that there was no need to say so. To keep it in mind is a small price to pay for this definitive biography of Burghley, a biography which will still be definitive when most of today's ephemera have long been forgotten.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

ENGLISH POLITICAL CARICATURE: A STUDY OF OPINION AND PROPAGANDA. Volume I, TO 1792; Volume II, 1793-1832. By *M. Dorothy George*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 237, 96 plates; xii, 275, 96 plates. \$11.20; \$11.20.)

THESE two volumes are based on many years of work by Dr. George of cataloguing and describing political and personal satires in the British Museum. In 1954 the eleventh and final volume of the catalogue of these prints was published. The first four were prepared by F. G. Stevens from 1870 to 1884, and the last seven by Dr. George from 1930 to 1954. The present volumes are a narrative based on an examination of more than seventeen thousand prints. She has already written descriptions on a majority of these in the final seven volumes of the catalogue. As the subtitle indicates, this is a study of opinion and propaganda. The author states clearly in the introduction that "The object of the book is to find the pattern in the shifting kaleidoscope, not to take the thread of history, as we now see it, and find appropriate illustrations."

Dr. George believes that Luther first used pictorial propaganda on a large scale. In England, however, it did not play an important part until the time of the Great Rebellion. Thus this work traces the developments of the emblematical print through the political caricature from about 1640 to 1832. The period is divided in the 1750's by revolutionary changes in the nature of the prints. "The engraving, complicated and sometimes cryptic, seldom comic, conceived in black and white and heavily cross-hatched, had been succeeded by a bold design, immediately striking to the eye, intended (usually) to amuse, and sold plain or coloured but commonly coloured." This revolution was due largely to the influence of Hogarth, to the introduction by amateurs of the Italian *caricatura*, and to the printsellers who found that the new technique opened up a more profitable market. More than three-fourths of the narrative of the two volumes is devoted to the political caricatures during the three-quarters of a century preceding the

Reform Act of 1832. The popularity of these prints is proved by the vast numbers sold. We are not well informed about the social position of the purchasers, the use made of the prints and their actual social and political influence. Some collections of prints were bound into albums and sold or rented, and some apparently were pinned on the walls of homes. Most puzzling of all is why suddenly after 1832 they became unacceptable in whatever form they had circulated.

No student of English political, constitutional, and social history can afford to ignore the evidence presented in these volumes. In addition to the information on the operation of public opinion, perhaps the work's greatest value lies in differentiating between events and movements that seemed important at the time and those that have been emphasized in histories. A comparison of the two clearly indicates that many which appeared fundamental to later generations were ignored at the time and others which loomed large to contemporaries are considered to be of no lasting significance.

In my opinion only one serious criticism can be offered. A concluding chapter giving Dr. George's interpretation of the influence of these prints on English political and social life from 1640 to 1832 would have added greatly to the work. The seven admirable introductions that she wrote for the volumes of the catalogue and the one for the first volume of this work give evidence of what she might have done in such a chapter. Oxford University Press should be complimented on the beauty of the ninety-six plates of prints reproduced in each volume.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

ROYALIST CONSPIRACY IN ENGLAND 1649-1660. By *David Underdown*. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies 19.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 374. \$6.00.)

THIS straightforward, scholarly, and continuously interesting book shows that the Royalist conspirators of the Commonwealth and Protectorate have at last found their historian. Mr. David Underdown has accomplished a difficult task supremely well. When, a few years back, Mr. Paul Hardacre wrote on *The Royalists in the Puritan Revolution* he deliberately omitted the underground movement, and in this he was wise, because Royalist conspiracy is a recondite subject, fascinating in itself, but not very relevant to the mainstream of seventeenth-century history. In spite of the network of loyal subjects who helped the king to escape in 1651, in spite of some foolhardy attempts at insurrection, in spite of grandiose plans involving a nationwide rising of Cavaliers synchronized with a Spanish invasion, the Restoration of 1660 was scarcely the work of what would now be called the Royalist resistance movement.

The conspiracies of the Cavaliers have much intrinsic interest, but their principal long-term significance—so Underdown concludes—was psychological. They gave to the oppressed and often apathetic Royalists occasional moments of poign-

ant hope, and those few devoted martyrs without whom a defeated cause loses all faith in itself.

Whatever the ultimate outcome of the Cavalier resistance, the confused and exciting story was worth disentangling for its own sake. In order to get to the bottom of all this plotting, Underdown has had to be both detective and historian. He has had to work out the laborious ciphers and crack the codes of those sometimes oddly ingenuous letters about shipments of tobacco and parcels of gloves which Royalist agents exchanged, and which Secretary Thurloe and his minions so often stopped and decoded en route. He has had to deal with the depositions of spies, with the tergiversations of Royalist renegades, and with the web of intrigue spun between the taverns of Covent Garden, the regional centers of conspiracy such as they were, and the wandering court of the king in Paris, at Cologne, and in Brussels. Through this labyrinth, the papers of Thurloe and Clarendon as well as some scattered manuscript sources give intermittent guidance; scholars as careful and as deeply versed in the minutiae of the epoch as S. R. Gardiner and Charles Firth could and did go astray, over dates, identities, and intentions.

A historian threading this maze needs a very clear head for detail and an exhaustive knowledge of the personnel of the Cavalier movement. The latter is, if anything, more important than the former because, for understanding the conspiracies, much depends on a ready acquaintance with the past careers, the family connections, the personality, and the capacities of those involved. Underdown has the clear head, human knowledge, and steady judgment necessary for the task and is thus able to give, for the first time, an intelligible and illuminating account of what happened—and what did not happen, which is sometimes equally important.

From the first the Cavalier resistance was divided, both at home and abroad. The "Louvre" group, centering on the queen, were in favor of the Scottish Presbyterian alliance, a view strongly opposed by respectable old Royalists, dominated by Edward Hyde. A third and wilder group, the "swordsmen," whose figurehead was Prince Rupert, was chiefly noticeable for constantly queering the pitch of poor exasperated Hyde. The Louvre group was discredited by the defeat of the Scots at Worcester. Incidentally Underdown shows how much the king owed his escape after this battle to the Roman Catholics with their long-standing network for "passing on" endangered and illicit visitors.

It was not until some time after the disaster at Worcester and the total military defeat of the king's cause that the famous Sealed Knot came into existence. This romantically named group of five was the only resistance committee officially accredited to the exiled court; it was chiefly remarkable for an extreme wariness, amounting at times almost to sabotage of the efforts of more energetic conspirators. Possibly the Knot's repeated advice to do nothing was wise, for in general the action groups were inefficient, uncoordinated, and ludicrously optimistic, but

members of the Knot did not escape criticism from those who rushed in unsuccessfully and sometimes lost their lives. Thus Penruddock's rising in 1655 and Booth's in 1659 were both local fragments of national schemes which collapsed, or never ripened, elsewhere, and on which the Sealed Knot looked with the gravest misgiving.

Underdown discusses fully the social and political alignment of the various groups of conspirators, the government's countermeasures, and the leading personalities on both sides. He is particularly good on the difficult character of Mordaunt, who had some of the makings of a leader though he failed in the event, and he is scrupulously fair to the enigmatic Sir Richard Willys, one of the five members of the Sealed Knot whose treachery, on the evidence as now presented, seems to be beyond doubt.

Underdown has conducted his complex investigations so thoroughly and written of them so lucidly that it is hard to see how this book could be bettered. As a general survey it illuminates a shadowy corner of the seventeenth century and as a work of reference it will long remain invaluable to any student of the epoch.

London, England

C. V. WEDGWOOD

CHARTIST STUDIES. Edited by *Asa Briggs*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 423. \$9.00.)

Chartist Studies is an extremely useful book. It does more than add to our knowledge of the subject of Chartism and, by illuminating local developments, compel revision of some earlier judgments. Above all, it is a model for cooperative studies. As editor, Asa Briggs has achieved his purpose of pulling together individual essays to form a book that is genuinely integrated and not "a mere collection of separate studies."

In an opening chapter on "The Local Background of Chartism," Briggs remarks that, although the Charter was a "symbol of unity," there were differences of opinion about tactics and even about purposes that "must be related to the facts of geography and social structure." This chapter provides the framework for subsequent analysis and description of local Chartist organization and activity. The next seven chapters deal with five areas in England, with Wales, and with Scotland.

Donald Read's study of Manchester emphasizes the sharpness of the class struggle there as a result of the growth and concentration of the cotton industry. Tracing economic fluctuations, and noting the growing distress, in relief of which Manchester economics "offered nothing but patience," Read shows how the Chartists continued to exploit the opposition between masters and men just as had the antecedent trade-union, antipoor law, and ten-hours' agitations. He also points out the strong Radical political tradition that had led to Peterloo and to support for the Reform Bill.

J. F. C. Harrison describes the strong Radical tradition that existed among the working class of Leeds, also. There the economic development of the expanding woolen, flax, and engineering industries led to a growing commercial as well as a manufacturing population, causing "Chartism to strike roots in a different kind of soil . . . factory operatives, shopkeepers and small tradesmen" and resulting in a more moderate attitude, with little support for physical-force men. In another chapter dealing with Leicester, he similarly relates the Chartist story to the local economic conditions, while noting that a strong Nonconformist tradition facilitated at least occasional cooperation with the middle class.

With respect to Suffolk, Hugh Fearn reveals the failure to capture and hold the agricultural workers. In Wiltshire and Somerset, where the cloth trade was declining, and in decaying Bath, the way in which Chartism took hold and functioned through the local Workingmen's Associations is described by R. B. Pugh.

David Williams analyzes the special features of Chartism in Wales, where its appeal was as pronounced in rural as in industrial areas and where Welsh dissent contributed its leaders, many of middle-class origin. Scottish Chartism, discussed by Alex Wilson, centered in Glasgow; here the emphasis was on long-range ends "by means of education and social reform, characterized by Chartist schools, Chartist cooperative stores, and Chartist temperance societies."

A second chapter by Briggs, entitled "National Bearings," summarizes these local chronicles and places the study of Chartism in the larger history of the emancipation of the working class. It also provides the introductory framework for the last three chapters, which are topical: "The Chartist Land Plan" by Joy MacAskill, "The Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League" by Lucy Brown, and "The Government and the Chartists" by F. C. Mather.

All of the studies in this excellent book are based mainly on primary sources. Mather in particular is thus enabled to bring into question some of the conclusions of Gammage and of Hovell. The footnotes provide good bibliographic guides. A useful "Chartist Chronology" is appended, rounding out and completing the unity of the volume.

Brooklyn College

MADELINE R. ROBINTON

PUBLIC ORDER IN THE AGE OF THE CHARTISTS. By *F. C. Mather*.
(New York: Barnes and Noble. 1959. Pp. ix, 260. \$6.50.)

THIS is not just another book on Chartism, which it takes largely for granted, but it should become indispensable for students of that movement and of nineteenth-century administrative history. It is a sound and sober piece of specialized research, unlikely to attract the general reader. Mr. Mather eschews the narrative approach, which would probably have been easier to write and to read, but which would have resulted in a longer and less informative book. Instead he has

produced a well-balanced and systematic analysis of the whole problem of maintaining public order in the period 1838-1848.

The book is obviously the result of much patient research in a wide range of unpublished sources, especially the Home Office Papers, but the author has shown judgment and restraint in selecting his evidence from these voluminous files. His general approach seems fair and objective, although in using mostly official papers, he is likely to put official action in a better light than would the traditional historians of Chartism.

An early chapter, entitled "The Ladder of Authority," provides a useful and interesting survey of all the authorities responsible for maintaining public order from the Home Secretary down to the parish constable. Under Russell, Graham, and Grey the stress was now on law enforcement and the extension of police authority rather than on new repressive laws and the suspension of habeas corpus as in the days of Pitt and Sidmouth. The role of the lord lieutenant varied greatly according to the individual, some giving energetic local leadership, while others because of indolence or old age were content to leave everything to the magistrates and the Home Office. The shortcomings of the magistracy are also shrewdly assessed and again it is made clear that performance varied widely. We learn that magistrates in the boroughs generally performed their duties more efficiently and with more restraint than those in the counties, but sometimes "the administration of law and order in the corporate towns was hamstrung by the clash of rival authorities."

Two chapters deal with the old and the new police. The parsimony of the central and local taxing authorities always imposed severe limitations on all executive officers responsible for maintaining public order. Mather supplies figures to show that the desirable ratio of one policeman for every thousand people in the provincial towns and one for twelve hundred people in the rural districts was only occasionally achieved. Though the practice of enrolling special constables had many drawbacks, the device of calling out physically fit army and navy pensioners where they were available was made effective in the 1840's. The metropolitan police force of 3,389 members under Home Office control was often called upon by local authorities in the provinces for assistance in time of emergency, but Mather feels that its members were generally less successful while away from London. Under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the important Police Acts of 1839 more efficient police forces gradually began to emerge despite numerous difficulties.

In describing the role of "the Military Force," both the yeomanry and the regular army, Mather dwells on the lack of adequate barrack accommodation and on the great advantage presented by the coming of the railway. And finally in a chapter on "Intelligence and Secret Service" we learn that spies and informers were still used by the new police forces, but under more effective and vigilant control than was the case in the days of Sidmouth. Mather's final conclusion is

modest but no doubt accurate—qualities that characterize the book as a whole: “The orderliness of the British people, which has since become proverbial, was foreshadowed in the better-policed areas during the Chartist period. It was not yet fully attained.”

University of Toronto

J. B. CONACHER

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ERNEST BEVIN. Volume I, TRADE UNION LEADER, 1881–1940. By *Alan Bullock*. (London: Heinemann. 1960. Pp. xiii, 672. 50s.)

THE first chapter of this magnificent biography introduces us to a child whose father was unknown, whose poverty-stricken mother died when he was eight, whose formal education was rudimentary, who had no stock in trade except his own maturing intelligence and strength of character. The last chapter follows the trade-union leader of sixty as he steps through the door of Number 10 Downing Street to become Minister of Labour during the critical years of World War II and later Foreign Secretary in the equally critical postwar period. That there was room at the top for a man of such antecedents speaks much for the flexibility of the British establishment, but it is even more eloquent testimony to the abilities of the massive man himself.

Bevin's career makes for Bullock a kind of saga in which his tremendous admiration for Bevin is evident on every page. It is possible indeed to see where his enthusiasm leads him sometimes to judge Bevin by different standards from those granted other, less attractive, figures. Perhaps Bevin's mistakes, like the unquestioned difficulty of his domineering personality, are sketched in muted shades, but his biographer's powerful and meticulous demonstration of all the things that stamped Bevin a great man makes this a minor fault.

Almost from the beginning of his career as trade-unionist Bevin displayed skill as an organizer and negotiator. He had a voracious appetite for work and, although he suffered criticism impatiently, a sense of timing in negotiation which grew surer as his experience broadened. He was a class-conscious Socialist, distrusting the employing class, but increasingly, as he helped develop the power of the trade-union movement, as distrustful of utopian schemes for revolution. The practical bent in his thinking was nowhere shown more clearly than in connection with the General Strike of 1926, which taught him, among other things, the limits within which industrial action must operate.

After the General Strike Bevin gradually became more involved in Labour politics. Bullock effectively dispels the myth of ignorant trade-union recalcitrance during the 1931 crisis which led to the fall of the Labour government. He argues, convincingly it seems to me, that Bevin and the trade-unionists were nearer, in their program to end the financial crisis, to the views which later economists

have come to accept as sound than were the orthodox advisers of Philip Snowden at the Exchequer. He is revealing also in his remarks on how much this trade-union position influenced the thinking of Arthur Henderson, the one member of MacDonald's cabinet whose opposition to Snowden's remedies for the financial crisis carried most weight.

Finally, in the nineteen-thirties, Bevin was quick to understand the meaning of the rise of Nazism on the Continent. As he saw first German then Austrian Socialists and trade-unionists crushed under the heel of Fascism, he came to feel passionately that Britain must be prepared in the face of real danger. Along with Hugh Dalton, he did more than any other Labour leader to break down the heritage of pacifism and class-rooted suspicion that had led the Labour party so disastrously up the blind alley of contradictory positions on "collective security" and disarmament. His own thinking reflected some of the contradictions, but his honesty in facing the facts of international life in the 1930's is the most striking feature of his views on foreign policy.

All this and much more Bullock treats with enviable skill. It will be difficult to wait patiently for his second volume where he must deal, among other things, with the remarkable differences between Bevin's policies on European collective defense and on Palestine. The result, on the evidence of this first volume, will be well worth the wait.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

THE MACLEODS: THE HISTORY OF A CLAN, 1200-1956. By I. F. Grant.
(London: Faber and Faber Ltd. 1959. Pp. 653. 42 s.)

In this work the clan MacLeod in its various branches is better served by good scholarship than most other Scottish clans. Miss Grant has written a richly detailed, quasi-official history drawn from a great variety of sources, including the body of materials contained in the MacLeod muniment room at Dunvegan Castle. Here and there the mass sometimes breaks down into unmanageable segments as though the material defied coherent organization. There are many repetitious sections and, sad to say, some places where errors of transcription and detail crept in, but the result is still so rewarding for the social historian that one can only commend this volume as a model of its kind.

Originally of Hebridean origin and founded, so the evidence indicates, by an eponymous Norse ancestor sometime in the twelfth century, the MacLeods spread through the western islands and onto the Scottish mainland through two main branches, the *Sìol Tormoid* of Harris and Skye (where its titular chief still resides at Dunvegan) and the *Sìol Torcaill* of Lewis. The former has had a longer continuous history, for the *Sìol Torcaill* of Lewis was overthrown and scattered by clan rivals and by the intercession of the Scottish crown at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Luck and shrewd judgment preserved the patrimony of the

Dunvegan MacLeods through the political turmoils of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The chiefs of *Sìol Tormoid* were not Jacobites and were thus spared the consequences of an allegiance so fatal to some other clans. What finally ruined them and their clan as an entity was not government legislation after the rising of 1745 but the more deadly forces of social change.

From the seventeenth century onward three developments worked against the clan: the rising economic aspirations of the chiefs and their economic and political commitments in the world outside the islands which forced them to raise the rents of their tenants and to borrow against the estate; the tide of emigration which took many of the industrious "tacksmen," who were the core of clan strength, off the chief's lands; and a growing population which expanded beyond the limits of regional production and, in the end, reached catastrophic proportions with the collapse of the kelp industry in the 1820's and the potato blight of 1846-1847. While there are differences in detail from the histories of other clans, the story of the MacLeods is the story of Highland and Hebridean decline during the past two centuries. The death of the clan organization has not meant, however, the death of clan sentiment. In the past generation a new sense of international family loyalty has brought the various MacLeods together in support of the ancient chief and all that remains of the ancient lands. This book was obviously written to help serve that purpose. In so doing, however, it has also well served the ends of historical scholarship.

Barnard College

SIDNEY A. BURRELL

THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,
1773-1834. By *B. B. Misra*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1959. Pp. xii, 476.
\$9.00.)

DURING the 258 years of its existence, from 1600 to 1858, the East India Company, originally a body of merchant adventurers, became the rulers of an enormous British empire in India. In this work Dr. Misra describes the structure of the administrative machinery of the company during the years of transition from commercial to political status, and shows how the company's institutions developed to meet the demands of government. He restricts himself to the operation of the supreme government in Calcutta, avoiding discussion both of the home government in London and the subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay. Even so he has undertaken a formidable task, for the East India Company was an organization of extraordinary complexity. Indeed the complexity reached its furthest point during the period under review, when the company, without abandoning its traditional forms, exercised all its ingenuity in devising ways by which its continued rule of India could be made acceptable to the British government. As a result the administration of the East India Company is, as Misra admits, "a somewhat difficult and complex subject." Misra has, nonetheless, done

an admirable job of reducing it to order, handling an intractable mass of material in a comprehensive and thorough (though not always too readable) fashion.

This book is not for the student seeking an introductory account of the growth of British power in India. Misra presupposes a general knowledge of India's history during this period and organizes his study in a topical rather than a chronological fashion, as he is primarily concerned with examining "the constitutional and administrative problems that arose and the ways in which these were solved." He devotes individual chapters to various aspects of the East India Company's machinery of government: the central secretariat, the revenue system, the administration of justice, and the growth of the civil service, with an interesting appendix on postal communications. He is at his best in discussing the office of collector and the land revenue system. The changing, often conflicting, early British experiments in land settlement and revenue collection are fully described and evaluated.

The work's major shortcoming lies in Misra's failure to examine the principles behind the administrative structure he describes. Although he talks vaguely of "commercial capitalism," "feudal interests," and "liberal principles," he never defines these general concepts or indicates how British policy was influenced by them. He does not appreciate the extent to which the Indian administration reflects the attitudes and ideas the British brought with them from home. Of course the British administration in India also owes much to its Mogul predecessor and to traditional ways of government. Here Misra is far more effective, for he clearly shows how the revenue and judicial systems of the company reflect an Indian heritage.

Misra must be numbered among the admirers of the East India Company. While severely critical of many British reforms, particularly Cornwallis' Anglicizing enthusiasms, Misra considers the company to have been generally an active and reforming body, which prepared the way for India's development as a modern nation. Thus Misra continues the trend so noticeable in recent Indian scholarship of assessing the work of the British in India in a more favorable light.

University of Wisconsin

THOMAS R. METCALF

THE FALL OF PARNELL, 1890-91. By F. S. L. Lyons. [Studies in Irish History, Second Series, Volume I.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 362. \$6.50.)

In *The Fall of Parnell*, Professor Lyons of Trinity College, Dublin, presents a brilliant and exciting analysis of one of the major crises in the history of nineteenth-century Irish nationalism: the effort of Charles Stewart Parnell to maintain control over the Home Rule movement following the sordid revelations of the divorce court. Like Conor Cruise O'Brien (*Parnell and His Party*), Lyons emphasizes that the majority of the Irish party did not reject Parnell as leader

because the stench of the divorce court offended their moral sensibilities or because it turned the Catholic hierarchy against him. By concluding his pact with Gladstone in 1886, and thereby pinning Home Rule prospects to the future of the Liberal party, Parnell brought on his own destruction. When Gladstone, responding to shocked British Protestant reaction to the Parnell-O'Shea affair, demanded Parnell's dismissal as Irish party leader as the price of a continued Liberal alliance, most Home Rule MP's believed that they had no choice but to place the Home Rule cause above the fate of its leader. The influence of the bishops and priests became important only when Parnell attempted to appeal the party decision to the judgment of Irish national opinion.

Lyons is convinced that Parnell deserves most of the blame for the split in Irish nationalist ranks because he refused to accept the political consequences of his unconventional relations with Kitty O'Shea. He insists, however, that the rift was widened by the scurrilous attacks on Parnell by Tim Healy and the clergy and by Gladstone's failure to estimate the extent and character of Irish national pride in his effort to rid the Liberals of Parnell. Lyons also shares O'Brien's thesis concerning the nature and significance of the Parnell legend. He holds that the post-Parnell Irish party lost its appeal to the Irish imagination. To the dissatisfied youth and literary men of Ireland, Parnell became the tragic hero, deserted by his followers, left alone to battle the forces of political, spiritual, and intellectual oppression.

I was impressed with Lyons' ability to draw on the previous studies of the 1890-1891 crisis and to expand and illuminate this synthesis by his own exhaustive research into the correspondence of the time. He has expertly handled such difficult questions as Parnell's relations with the O'Sheas, his hold on the Irish imagination, the character of the Irish-Liberal alliance, the clergy in Irish politics, the decisive roles of O'Brien and Dillon in the Parnell-anti-Parnellite debate, and the influence of Parnell's fall on the subsequent history of the Home Rule movement. This is an important contribution to Irish historiography that will add to an understanding of Parnell, his role in the nationalist movement, and the significance of the Irish question in British politics.

University of Illinois

LAWRENCE J. McCaffrey

CHATEAUBRIAND: ROMANTIK UND POLITIK. By *Friedrich Sieburg*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1959. Pp. 494. DM 19.80.)

FRIEDRICH Sieburg has added to his already lengthy list of publications a biography of Chateaubriand. It serves as a third treatment of France's great revolutionary era, supplementing his studies of Napoleon and Robespierre. Like its predecessors, *Chateaubriand* is aimed at a wide popular audience in Germany. It makes no pretense of scholarship or definitiveness; Sieburg has seen fit to avoid encumbering his text with footnote references even for direct quotations,

and provides the scholarly inquirer with only brief references to some of the contemporary sources he has consulted and an enthusiastic listing of some of the standard biographical and critical studies of his subject. Sieburg assures his readers that his assertions are founded in evidence, but admits that he has created "appropriate" circumstances in his description of recorded events, with the object, apparently, of giving his readers a fuller imaginative appreciation of Chateaubriand and his times. That he shows himself, nonetheless, to be immersed in his subject is small gain for the scholarly reader.

The biography offers neither extensive treatment of Chateaubriand's literary works nor detailed treatment of his political career. It is an effort at portraiture, at eliciting the temper and character of the man and his times. Sieburg's concern is for Chateaubriand as a typical figure of the great age of romanticism, as the creator of a new type for the artist, a type which Chateaubriand symbolized both in his person and in his career. The reader meets the magnificent egotist Chateaubriand as he lives the life of a hero in a romantic novel, combining vaulting ambition with intense melancholy concern for self and dissatisfaction with an unappreciative world. He is shown adopting the poses and pretenses of romantic genius, combining them in a manner that led to innumerable imitators but to no equals.

Much is made here of his dreams, his ambitions, and his numerous, usually unsatisfactory, love affairs. Great care and detail are devoted to scene setting and to character description, and no aspect of Chateaubriand's life that might arouse a reader's interest is played down. The vocabulary employed is replete with enthusiastic metaphor—perhaps it is appropriate to treat a romantic subject in a romantic style.

Such popularization is doubtless harmless, but offers no significant contribution to knowledge.

Amherst College

JOHN B. HALSTED

SEPHARDIM AN DER UNTEREN ELBE: IHRE WIRTSCHAFTLICHE UND POLITISCHE BEDEUTUNG VOM ENDE DES 16. BIS ZUM BEGINN DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Hermann Kellenbenz*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte Number 40.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1958. Pp. xii, 606. [DM 44.]

It is generally assumed that the Marranos were secret Jews who posed as Catholics in Spain and Portugal in order to escape the dreaded Inquisition. Consequently, whenever they succeeded in reaching a non-Catholic area, such as Holland, England, Hamburg, and the Ottoman Empire, they openly embraced Judaism. These Spanish and Portugese families played, whether as professing Christians or as open Jews, a significant role in the expansion of mercantile capitalism in the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth centuries. Indeed, Werner

Sombart attributed to them the introduction of the capitalistic spirit into the Western world.

Two major problems emerge for the economic historian. How did the Marranos accumulate their original capital prior to their appearance as professing Jews in Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, Venice, and Constantinople? What was their role in the expansion of capitalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

Dr. Hermann Kellenbenz devotes himself almost exclusively to the second problem. He has scrutinized thoroughly the archival materials pertaining to the activities of the Sephardim (i.e., the Spanish and Portugese Jews) in Hamburg, Altona, Glückstadt, Friedrichstadt, and Tönning, and in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. He analyzes their economic pursuits which extended to every trading center of the New World and the Old, traces the family ties and affiliations that made these international activities both possible and profitable, and investigates their relationships to the royal courts of Sweden and Denmark and to the Hamburg Bank and money market. Indeed, Kellenbenz neglects no facet of Sephardic interest.

The value of this massive work lies in its documentation, which refutes decisively the Sombart hypothesis. The Sephardim took advantage of the expansion of mercantile capitalism; they did not create it. The Sephardim were neither the wealthiest merchants nor the most prominent financiers.

Though Kellenbenz concentrates on the Sephardim on the lower Elbe, he recognizes that their economic activities were world wide. It is this aspect that needs further clarification. The Sephardim who were professing Jews worked in close cooperation with Marranos in Spain, Portugal, and France who remained professing Christians. A system of trading connections built on family ties evolved which enabled professing Jews in Amsterdam, London, Hamburg, and Constantinople to operate effectively through Catholic Marranos in Spain, Portugal, and France. Such a mercantile network may have afforded the Sephardim certain competitive advantages that yielded profits but not economic supremacy.

Kellenbenz' valuable volume represents much painstaking research. In an effort to exhaust the topic, he has organized his work under topical rubrics that obscure the dynamic nature of his data and make for repetitiveness. Though the author's method lessens the impact of the work, this weakness is more than compensated for by the richness of the documentation.

Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion

ELLIS RIVKIN

THE WORLD AND MEN AROUND LUTHER. By *Walter G. Tillmanns*. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House. 1959. Pp. xv, 384. \$5.95.)

PROCEEDING from the assumption that the modern Luther "renaissance" stems from the impact of the religious genius of Luther rather than from the influence of the Lutheran Church, the author centers his attention on the personality of the

German reformer, portraying the kind of world in which he lived and the personalities with whom he was associated. By so doing he wishes to illuminate the magnitude of the Reformation and to acquaint his readers with the powers and personalities responsible for the destinies of Christians during and after Luther's lifetime.

Tillmanns bases his discussion of the brief first part, "The World around Luther," on a few standard secondary sources, relating well-known incidents to important events in Luther's life. Although he makes the distinction between medieval and modern too sharp and portrays the transition from the one to the other as occurring too abruptly, that is, within the lifetime of Luther, he correctly points out the complexity and revolutionary character of the Reformation era.

In the second part, "The Men around Luther," the author presents biographical sketches of nearly two hundred men, both friends and foes of the Reformation, under such headings as "The Inner Circle," "Lutheran Laymen," "The Martyrs," "The Swiss Reformers," "Scandinavian Lutherans," "English Friends and Foes," and "The Roman Camp." He bases these sketches to a large extent on the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* and on Luther's correspondence. It is obvious that his loyalties are to Luther and his supporters, yet he discusses their weak as well as strong qualities and attempts to be fair to their opponents. Occasionally he discloses his own theological convictions, as in his reference to Luther as "a sinner, saved only by the blood of Christ" and to Melancthon as one who "brought more harm to our Church than all his labors at the side of the Reformer had brought blessings"; and he betrays his dislike of certain persons by the use of strong adjectives, as in reference to Francis I as the "wily, two-faced, double-dealing king of France," to Campeggio as "the wily papal delegate," and to Carlstadt as an "unscrupulous, vain, ambitious, insincere opportunist." A number of factual errors and Germanisms occur which should be corrected in a subsequent printing. On the whole, the book will serve as a handy reference work for general readers and college students.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

KEPLER. By Max Caspar. Translated and edited by C. Doris Hellman. (New York: Abelard-Schuman. 1959. Pp. 401. \$7.50.)

IN this age of man-made satellites Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) is known to every schoolboy as the genius who discovered that the planetary orbits are elliptical. A new monumental edition of his collected writings has been in the process of publication for nearly a quarter of a century. The principal credit for this magnificent memorial honoring one of Germany's most brilliant sons belongs to Max Caspar (1880-1956), the greatest Kepler scholar of all time. When Caspar's labors on Kepler's *Gesammelte Werke* were interrupted by the overthrow of the Nazi regime, he seized the opportunity to compose what is unquestionably our

best biography of Kepler. It was first published in German in 1948 and was re-issued in 1950. A posthumous edition, with minor revisions by Caspar's closest collaborator, appeared in 1958.

The present volume is a translation of this biography into English by C. Doris Hellman, who teaches the history of science at Pratt Institute. She had demonstrated her fitness for this task by her own independent contributions to our knowledge of sixteenth-century astronomy. But she has done more than merely turn Caspar's German into English. Although he was a master of both the primary sources and the secondary literature available on the subject, he decided to write for the general public and not to document his assertions, even when these corrected the errors of earlier biographers. On the other hand, Miss Hellman has enhanced the value of the English version by appropriate citations of recent discussions, as well as by explanations of Caspar's obscurities, completions of his partial statements, and emendations of his occasional slips. Thus, in her translation as in the 1958 edition, Kepler is no longer a member of the *Accademia dei Lincei*, a mistake made in the 1948 edition and repeated in Arthur Koestler's *Sleepwalkers*.

Pleased as Miss Hellman's readers will surely be to have her English rendering of Caspar's German, they would be even happier if she had not left much of Kepler's Latin untranslated. In one such case the unintentional omission of an essential word leaves the rest of the quotation unintelligible even to those who may still be familiar with the dead language which Kepler used so fluently and so idiosyncratically. Sometimes Miss Hellman has followed the German word order too faithfully. Here and there the exact English equivalent of the original has escaped her. Thus, when Kepler's son Ludwig became *Stadtphysikus* in Königsberg, he was the city physician, not the "city physicist." He failed to fulfill his promises to write a biography of his illustrious father and to publish the astronomical observations of Tycho Brahe because he lacked, not "the necessary scientific hypothesis," but the necessary scientific "prerequisites."

Such blemishes detract but little from the excellent service Miss Hellman has rendered those who do not read German by making available to them Caspar's superb biography of Kepler.

City College of New York

EDWARD ROSEN

ELECTORALIS ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM BOICAE PRIMORDIA:
BRIEFE AUS DER GRÜNDUNGSZEIT DER BAYERISCHEN AKA-
DEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN. Edited by *Max Spindler*. Assisted by
Gertrud Diepolder, *Ludwig Hammermayer*, and *Andreas Kraus*. (Munich:
C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1959. Pp. xxxi, 567. DM 50.)

GRÜNDUNGS-UND FRÜHGESCHICHTE DER BAYERISCHEN AKA-
DEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN. By *Ludwig Hammermayer*. [Münch-

ener Historische Studien, Abteilung Bayerische Geschichte, Number 4.] (Kallmünz: Verlag Michael Lassleben. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 387. DM 22.)

THESE two books published on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, founded in 1758 as the *Bayerische Gesellschaft* and renamed in 1759 *Kurbayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, are among the most edifying, and thus gratifying, recent publications in the field of eighteenth-century German intellectual history. From Hammermayer's preface we learn that the correspondence of the *Kurbayerische Akademie*, which had been evacuated during the war, had vanished until 1957 and was presumed to have been lost. It was rediscovered in archival materials brought back to Munich, just in time to serve as the backbone of these two publications.

The edition of selected letters comprises 254 items: ten for the year 1758, 139 for 1759, seventy-two for 1760, and thirty-three for 1761. It is essentially the correspondence of the first secretary of the academy, Johann Georg [Freiherr von] Lori (1723-1786), who resigned his position in the summer of 1761. No tombstone, no inscription commemorates him, but by his correspondence in the formative years of the academy his name is inscribed in the German *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* in glowing letters. It is, however, the Enlightenment as a European movement which is enriched by this correspondence with many foreign scholars, and there is only a surprisingly faint echo of the Seven Years' War raging at this time.

Grossly underestimating the learned tradition of the Bavarian monastic clergy, the Enlightenment in Bavaria has been called by Karl Theodor von Heigel the period in which the country was reconquered for Germany's intellectual life. Max Spindler, the editor of this splendid volume of letters and Hammermayer's *Doktorvater*, has given new impetus to research on the period of "Catholic Enlightenment" in Bavaria. Hammermayer puts the founding of the *Akademie* in general German historical perspective by discussing academies and the idea and role of academies in eighteenth-century Germany. His appendix, "Die Gründungsgeschichte der [Bayerischen] Akademie in der Literatur," convincingly shows the gradual revision that has occurred in judging the intellectual climate in eighteenth-century Bavaria. Lori, as the guiding spirit behind the establishment of the academy and the first director of its *Historische Klasse*, Johann Adam Freiherr von Ickstatt, the reformator of Ingolstadt University, Heinrich Braun, the school reformer, and Peter von Osterwald, director of the academy's *Philosophische Klasse* (1762-1768), emerge as leading figures in the Bavarian Enlightenment. Concentrating on the history of the academy's *Historische Klasse* during its first decade, Hammermayer describes Bavarian pioneering in the field of regional historical research and publication of sources (*Monumenta Boica*) under the enthusiastic guidance of Christian Friedrich Pfeffel, director of the *Historische Klasse* between 1763 and 1768.

Scholars interested in "elite" studies should note Hammermayer's analysis of

the membership of the academy during its first decade according to origins, profession, and confession. Copious notes and excellent indexes facilitate the use of both works.

Library of Congress

FRITZ T. EPSTEIN

DEUTSCHLAND-ZANZIBAR-OSTAFRIKA: GESCHICHTE EINER DEUTSCHEN KOLONIALEROBERUNG, 1884-1890. By *Fritz Ferdinand Müller*. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1959. Pp. 581. DM 19.80.)

THIS study of German colonial activity in East Africa down to 1890 is a work of major historical importance, indispensable to students of African history. Although Germany was to retain only Tanganyika, the work of ambitious imperialists in Witu, Somaliland, Uganda, Katanga, and Zanzibar is covered. While the title suggests an emphasis on the years 1884-1890, there is much new and excellent history prior to that time. The story ends with the uprising of Africans in Tanganyika against the Germans, the conclusion of the Zanzibar-Helgoland Treaty of 1890, and the assumption of the administration of Tanganyika by the German government.

The author is chiefly concerned with the career of Carl Peters, whom he regards as a psychopath and whom he likes to treat as a symbol of ruthless imperialist exploitation. But Müller has also much to say about the Denhardt brothers, Gerhard Rohlfs, Emin Pasha, and Paul Reichard, the German who had made treaties with Africans in the Katanga area. If the German government under Bismarck had fully supported the claims of these ambitious individuals, Germany would have had a huge trans-African empire reaching from the Cameroons on the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, from the Gulf of Aden to the borders of Portuguese Mozambique, an empire that might have satisfied the inordinate ambitions of Peters himself.

That Germans did not acquire this vast territory was due in part to the fact that the colonial enthusiasts could not raise the necessary funds. The chief reason, however, was Bismarck's determination to keep German interests in Africa from interfering with a policy of friendship with Great Britain. The Iron Chancellor's policy became clear and final in the Zanzibar-Helgoland Treaty, which abandoned many German rights in favor of friendship and, possibly, alliance with Britain. Although that treaty was concluded by Caprivi and although it was attacked later by Bismarck, the author shows that it was clearly the work of the Iron Chancellor and quite in keeping with his general policy.

That the author is an East German Communist writing on imperialism in the doctrinaire manner of a J. A. Hobson and that the book is published in East Berlin are facts that detract somewhat from the value of the study. It is based, nonetheless, on a thorough use of German colonial archives in Potsdam and on a close acquaintance with the extensive available bibliography. Every page carries

evidence of a scholar's use of documents, which are now being employed for the first time in thirty years. It is only when the author gets away from the documents that the winds of doctrine show his slip. It is not difficult, however, for the average reader to separate such unscholarly opinions from the main body of fact which the book contributes so generously to our knowledge. For no other colonial power is there such a detailed and well-documented study of the acquisition of territory in Africa. That the facts give some support to the Communist's doctrinaire criticism of imperialism is a matter for which the Communists cannot be made responsible. It is not hard to see that this study will give Communists something of an advantage in winning friends and influencing peoples in Africa.

Yale University

HARRY R. RUDIN

MAX WEBER: AN INTELLECTUAL PORTRAIT. By *Reinhard Bendix*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1960. Pp. 480. \$5.75.)

THE works of Max Weber have certainly not been without honor in this country. In the past decade and a half he has become the American historian's favorite sociologist, as one translation has followed another in making nearly all his major writings available to the English-speaking public. Before the war only the *General Economic History* and *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* had been translated. Since 1945, beginning with Gerth and Mills's *From Max Weber*, a substantial chunk of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, all except two of the important methodological essays and the three studies of Asian religion complementary to the essay on the Protestant ethic, have been published in English in satisfactory scholarly editions.

From this wave of American interest in Weber there has emerged a fairly clear consensus. Ultimately it traces back to Marianne Weber's biography of her husband, which has remained the basic source. Nearly all those who have written critical essays on Weber—including Parsons, Gerth and Mills, and the present reviewer—have stressed the contradictions in his character and his struggle with his own inner demons as the mainsprings of his creative labors. All have suggested, however tentatively, a psychoanalytic interpretation of his life and work.

It is against this background that Reinhard Bendix's "intellectual portrait" must be assessed. Where others have restricted themselves to brief interpretations or analyses of specific aspects of Weber's work, Bendix has attempted the full-scale study that has long been needed. As such, it unquestionably fulfills the minimum requirements. It is admirably clear, well organized, inclusive, and based on long and conscientious research. For the student who wants an introductory guide to Weber, it will be a godsend, providing as it does the over-all structure that the theoretician himself did not live to complete.

In a few respects Bendix goes beyond his predecessors' interpretations. At one point—almost casually—he gives the best brief characterization of Weber's writ-

ings that I have ever seen, by defining his "intellectual task" as making "analytically useful distinctions between facts whose contrasting attributes were obscured by imperceptible gradations." He also has some new things to say about Weber's relation to the Hegelian tradition, and he corrects the earlier view that his protagonist subscribed to the "great-man" theory of history. Perhaps most importantly, at the end of his study Bendix puts Weber's analysis of bureaucracy into "contemporary perspective" by suggesting that this development has irrational and "patrimonial" features which Weber scarcely suspected and which have become apparent only in our own day.

Such are the specific contributions of Bendix's book in pushing forward our understanding of Weber's work. At other points, however, his study marks a step backward. He treats his subject's emotional disorder even more cautiously than his predecessors have done, and he makes no effort to elaborate on their psychoanalytic suggestions. In the same fashion, he shies away from the "demonic" element in Weber's career, and at his hands Weber's nationalism and his emphasis on the role of charismatic leadership in a democracy appear far too bland and reassuring. The sharpness of the tone and the brutality and desperation of the thought have been flattened out: what emerges is a Weber cut down after forty years to the mild and well-ordered measure of America in 1960.

Thus in the end Bendix's book proves not to be an "intellectual portrait" at all: its subtitle is a misnomer. It is rather an expert and extremely useful key to his work. A really exciting and original book on Weber—a book that will turn all the resources of modern psychology on its fascinating and perplexing subject—still remains to be written.

Harvard University

H. STUART HUGHES

MAX WEBER UND DIE DEUTSCHE POLITIK, 1890–1920. By *Wolfgang J. Mommsen*. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1959. Pp. xv, 442. DM 47.)

WOLFGANG Mommsen's analysis of Weber's political ideas is a definitive study which completely supersedes J. P. Mayer's superficial *Max Weber in German Politics*. It is based upon a careful examination of what survives of Weber's private papers, which Marianne Weber had, of course, used previously in the biography of her husband, not, as Mommsen shows, without taking remarkable liberties with the text of many of Weber's letters. The value of Mommsen's study does not, however, depend upon the discovery of important new facts. It lies rather in his careful collation of widely scattered materials, his systematic analysis, and his penetrating criticism of Weber from a democratic and antinationalist viewpoint. The criticism is more effective because the author—like almost everyone who has dealt with Weber—succumbs to some extent to Weber's impressive personality with its "ethic of responsibility."

Mommsen finds Weber's political ideas completely time conditioned before 1918 and positively anachronistic thereafter. Weber never doubted that the German national *Machtstaat* was the ultimate political value. His foreign policy was frankly imperialist and his criticism of the Emperor directed not only against William's dilettantism but also against his irresolution in not daring to fight a major war (which Weber considered inevitable) under circumstances more favorable than those confronting Germany in 1914. During the war Weber was determined that Germany should emerge from the struggle in a condition fit to resume *Weltpolitik*. His postwar foreign policy ideas included the unleashing of a partisan war in German irredentist areas, the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles, and the concentration upon reconstituting the general staff.

Weber's ideas on domestic politics were equally unfortunate. He favored an advance toward democracy and the parliamentary system, not because these were ethically valuable per se, but only because they promised (erroneously, as it turned out) to provide Germany with better political leadership than was provided by the imperial bureaucratic system. Mommsen shows that Weber never advocated the full parliamentary system of a chancellor dependent upon the *Reichstag* majority. Weber valued a charismatic president to act as a counterweight to a parliament increasingly paralyzed by party bureaucracies and economic pressure groups. The presidential office that emerged in the Weimar Constitution fell far short of Weber's wishes, though it proved sufficiently strong under Hindenburg to help to undermine the parliamentary system.

Mommsen's book is a magnificent iconoclastic achievement. In my opinion its only serious flaw is that it does not attempt to answer certain fundamental, perhaps unanswerable, questions. How could a man of Weber's world-wide intellectual outlook be so incredibly parochial in his political values? What were the ultimate psychological and philosophical foundations of Weber's political outlook? Mommsen gives suggestive hints concerning his puritanical, ascetic "religiosity," his pride in his bourgeois origins, his fascination with the phenomenon of power. These hints might have been systematized, even at the risk of engaging in some retrospective psychoanalysis. This is, however, a perfectionist's demand. The reader will be grateful for this valuable study as it stands. It is indispensable for understanding Max Weber and the period of which he was perhaps the most distinguished representative.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

DIE VERSPÄTETE NATION: ÜBER DIE POLITISCHE VERFÜHRBARKEIT BÜRGERLICHEN GEISTES. By *Helmuth Plessner*. (2d ed.; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1959. Pp. 174. DM 14.50.)

In this provocative and closely reasoned book, Plessner seeks to trace the historical development of the modern intellectual climate and to explain why he believes that in Germany more than in Western Europe it worked to facilitate

the seizure of power by a group such as the National Socialists. He emphasizes the stages by which old beliefs were continually pushed aside or transformed by newer creeds and ideas. Using France and England as "controls" for his examination of German developments, he indicates that they were subject to the same intellectual forces and the same changes of intellectual ideas in the nineteenth century, but explains why he feels that they were less radically and rapidly affected by them. He finds the sources of this special vulnerability in the failure of the German attempt to create a nation in the seventeenth century, in the failure of either Protestantism or Catholicism to win a clear victory in Germany, in the failure of Bismarck's Germany either fully to unite all those within its borders or to include all European Germans in the nation, and in the triumph of Lutheranism rather than Calvinism in northern Germany. He thus presents what he feels to be the intellectual background for Hitler's Germany.

For reasons of brevity and clarity Plessner limits himself strictly to a consideration of intellectual developments. Some readers will not agree with his implied stress upon intellectual currents as the prime force in history. Since this choice is debatable and since Plessner excludes the problem of the balance and relationship of forces, his method should perhaps be noted but not criticized. There are, though, criticisms which may properly be made. In order to emphasize conflicts within the German body politic in modern times, the author minimizes or ignores similar intellectual conflicts in France and England and their persistence to the present. In some places he seems to find the causes of antagonisms between or among nations or groups in complex intellectual differences, where there would seem to be more simple, direct, and compelling reasons in the realm of political and economic problems. He also ignores the influence of geography upon the physical and intellectual development of the German problem. Finally, his view of France as a more fortunate state than Germany seems to reflect a lack of awareness of the agonizing and tremendous problems facing the former.

Repetition, natural enough in essays based upon university lectures, may annoy the reader. Those not well versed in German and the history of ideas will find the phraseology difficult. Although the general argument remains unimpaired, there are a few places where the reader becomes aware that the volume was originally written in 1935. Despite these problems, anyone interested in the spirit of our times and in the problem of Germany and National Socialism should read this book.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

GERMANY REJOINS THE POWERS: MASS OPINION, INTEREST GROUPS, AND ELITES IN CONTEMPORARY GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Karl W. Deutsch* and *Lewis J. Edinger*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 320. \$6.50.)

DEFEATED, powerless, and occupied in 1945, achieving self-government in 1949, the German Federal Republic in ten years has so far recovered politically and economically that it has become a mainstay in the Western alliance and a pillar of European stability. Germany has again become a potent force in European and world affairs. Who are the leaders and elites and what are the forces that determine foreign policy in this revived Germany?

In this work two reputable political scientists, using new techniques of research and measurement, endeavor to answer these questions. The goals set are modest: to give "a brief summary of some of the basic facts about the new German foreign policies and their makers," and to apply new methods of research and analysis which have been developed in the field of decision and policy making, elite analysis, and opinion measurement. Besides conventional materials, two kinds of data are employed—German opinion polls and biographical information on members of elite groups that influence foreign policy. Altogether five foreign policy elites are identified and described: civil and military administrators, political leaders, interest groups, religious leaders, and editors and publishers. The members of these elites are statistically classified by age, geographic and social origins, religion, education, military service, and anti-Nazi record. Divided into four parts, the study deals with popular opinion and images derived from Germany's past, with the institutions and elites that function in the policy-making process, with "The System in Operation," and with "Prospects and Perspectives." The policies that had popular support present a picture of caution for the decade of the 1950's—anti-Communism, friendship with the United States, peace, and reunification on Western terms.

In "The System in Operation," the authors apply their method in five decision-making situations: relations with the United States, which are equated with dollar aid in various forms; Germany's entry into the European Coal and Steel Community; rearmament and integration into NATO; the reparations agreement with Israel; and the unresolved issue of Soviet relations and reunification. Analyzing these five major policy decisions the authors assess the relative influence exerted by leaders and elites. They conclude that the chancellor was the most influential factor, followed by the cabinet, the leaders of the CDU, the diplomatic elite, the Catholic bishops, higher civil service members, business leaders, the press elite, and the military, which had not developed to the point where it was an influential factor. The least influence was exerted by the SPD leaders and the Evangelical bishops. I think that the methodology is weakest at this point, where objective measurement gives way to subjective appraisal of the degree of influence exerted by persons and groups in changing foreign policy situations. I would not, for example, agree in all instances with the assigned coefficients of influence. The authors concede that this critical part of the method becomes a matter of judgment.

Only since 1955, with the restoration of sovereignty, supported by strong

economic recovery, have German leaders been in a position to make independent decisions. A wider choice of roles for Germany undoubtedly lies ahead. Of a list of nine possibilities, three are realistic: displacement of France and Britain as the United States' principal allies in NATO; the position of a strong neutral power; a strong uncommitted power, manipulating the balance between East and West to Germany's advantage. These roles the authors consider unrealizable and their pursuit dangerous. More profitable is the Adenauer course, which seeks "to make Germany the main supporter and beneficiary of the movement toward European integration," while developing her position as "a business partner of the uncommitted world."

This study from a sister social science has integrity, maturity, and commendable realism. As a demonstration of methodology it is impressive, and as a treatise on German foreign policy and its makers it commands respect.

University of Virginia

ORON J. HALE

A STUDY IN AUSTRIAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY FROM LATE BAROQUE TO ROMANTICISM. By *Robert A. Kann*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1960. Pp. xxii, 367. \$6.00.)

CAST in a distinctive mold, this solid exploration offers a conspectus of intellectual trends in German-Austria, radiating from Vienna, from the mid-seventeenth century to about 1830. Modest attention is devoted to contrasting or corresponding currents in Western Europe. Professor Kann is impressed with the cyclical pattern in the evolution of the Austrian mind—that theme, in fact, is central to the whole study—longer swings of conventionalism have been interspersed with brief periods of dynamic change. Apart from being a pioneer enterprise in the English language, the distinctiveness of the book arises from its blending of a biographical approach with panoramic essays.

Rich manuscript and printed original sources have been scrupulously examined and the views of other scholars have been weighed with care and thoroughness, though Kann insists upon, and generously expresses, independent judgments. He is happier with analysis than with exposition; too often the narrative is marred by passages that are puzzling, such as, "Accordingly, if there is an influence, even though not a direct one, as far as specific programs of social action are concerned, such influence would not be specific." Contemporary portraits of outstanding personalities of the era embellish the book.

Two colorful individuals, each the child of his age, dominate the work: Ulrich Megerlin (1646–1709), better known by his name as an Augustinian brother, Abraham a Sancta Clara, and Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732–1817), worthy of the title of "great," Kann eventually concludes, and the supreme exponent of the Enlightenment in Austria. Well-educated, talented linguists, and widely traveled, tireless speakers and writers, these men and their ideas, though not their writings,

imprinted an enduring stamp upon that nebulous something spoken of as the Austrian mentality. Rising to the station of court preacher in Vienna, Abraham, of humble Bavarian origins, resembled Savonarola, lashing out with sharp tongue and witty pen against the evils of the time as he perceived them, though vastly more concerned with the City of God than with the towns of men. In contrast, the secularist Sonnenfels, versatile, hard working, and forward looking, crusaded for human betterment in civil administration, in legal processes, in popular and higher education, in material well-being, and in language and the theater. It would have been helpful if a long discussion of Sonnenfels' struggle to elevate literary and dramatic standards had been abridged in favor of fuller presentation of the wellsprings of his rationalism. The causes that the reformer espoused, coupled with disagreeable personality traits, antagonized powerful churchmen and aristocrats, but the patronage of Maria Theresa stood him in good stead, and by way of solace for contemptuous strictures of critics, Sonnenfels had a sonata dedicated to him by Beethoven. Many of the viewpoints with which Kann deals are highly complex, and some of them have been keenly debated. He has, however, pondered on them deeply and to good purpose, and he treats them with discrimination and urbanity, if not always with lucidity.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAY

AUSTRIAN CATHOLICS AND THE FIRST REPUBLIC: DEMOCRACY, CAPITALISM, AND THE SOCIAL ORDER, 1918-1934. By *Alfred Diamant*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 325. \$6.50.)

THE history of the Austrian Republic during the interwar period offers many interesting, not yet fully explored problems. One of them is the connection between the destruction of a democratic two-party system that had worked tolerably well for fifteen years, and another is the rape of Austria by Hitler four years later. This gap in the history of party ideologies is partially filled by Professor Diamant's solid and scholarly study on Catholic political philosophy in the Austrian Republic. Whether one can distinguish between a first and a second republic, as the author does, or whether the Nazi occupation merely suspended the operation of government without being able to destroy the identity of the state is still unresolved.

The author clearly presents the theories and programs of numerous individuals and small groups of Catholic thinkers concerning such concepts as romantic universalism, socially and authoritarian oriented corporative political ideas, restoration of a paternalistic monarchy, religious socialism, and "correctly conceived democracy" or "true democracy," which is far different from American or British democracy. But even the informed reader will be somewhat bewildered by this wide array of concepts, the terms of which may be familiar to him, although the

semantics employed by the men involved are not. Perhaps Diamant could have made the reader's task less difficult, had he not split up the ideas of the same individuals in different topical chapters. Yet his main difficulty is inherent in the subject itself.

Throughout most of the period a Catholic political party held the leading position in the government under a democratic parliamentary regime. Since reform or revolutionary ideas find a convenient rallying point in the status of opposition to the government, the sweeping reform concepts noted above played only a minor role. As long as such ideas are promoted by critical supporters rather than opponents they tend to be diffuse and hazy. Though they may be held together by a common, sincere faith, they are not even remotely united by a common program of political objectives and action. As the author notes in a different context, "our respect for the perspicacity of the Catholic social critics must not blind us to their almost complete inability to prescribe successfully for the ills of transition and to propose workable alternative institutions and ideals."

Yet a program of thorough ideological-political action was eventually adopted with the authoritarian-corporative Dollfuss Constitution of 1934. The author views this constitutional experiment, established in an admittedly desperate situation, as a complete failure and particularly so if confronted with the papal encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI. "The framers of the 1934 Constitution . . . having first silenced the opposition by force of arms . . . then destroyed the system of democratic controls and handed the state over to the very capitalists whom the Vatican had castigated for cloaking their selfish ends with Catholic doctrines." Thus, if the authoritarian system of Dollfuss which collided with exalted doctrines failed and the Catholic-sponsored government of the 1920's proved fairly successful, the breakdown of Austrian democracy rather than Catholic theory should take the blame. Men in different camps and not blueprints are responsible for this breakdown. Greater emphasis on this aspect would have strengthened the book even further. Yet it is a fine study with a challenging interpretation of a complex subject.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

VIENNA AND THE YOUNG HITLER. By *William A. Jenks*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 252. \$5.00.)

"WHAT might Vienna have contributed to the production of the arch-nihilist of our day?" Jenks formulates his central question wisely; answers to it can be only suggestions of probabilities, not statements of fact. "The Hitler who left [Vienna] for Munich in 1913 is not truly known to us save through the pages of *Mein Kampf*," and these pages reveal Hitler's retrospective evaluation of the imperial city in the light of his position in the early twenties. Of the actual im-

fact of Vienna on the young Hitler during the years 1907-1913, we know almost nothing. Jenks provides the next best kind of knowledge: a description of those aspects of the city's political, social, and cultural life which provided the ambience of the future dictator's personal development.

To Karl Lueger's Christian Socialist party and Georg von Schönerer's Pan-German movement the author devotes chapters analyzing both the historical origins of these middle-class radical formations and their future implications for National Socialism. Jenks bases his evaluation of Lueger largely on partisan historiography which emphasizes Lueger's achievement as a social reformer. He devotes an eloquent chapter to the destitution under which Hitler himself suffered, but does not bring it into conceptual conjunction with the rather laudatory chapter on Lueger and his regime.

In a chapter entitled "The Jews in Austria" the treatment of the Jews themselves oddly occupies only a third of the pages. It is based on the work of one contemporary Jewish commentator of limited perspective (Ludwig von Oppenheimer) and on the sociological researches of Leo Goldhammer, published in 1927. Considering the wealth of primary and secondary literature on the Jews of Vienna, the reliance on two books—and the resulting distortions in the picture of Viennese Jewry—are difficult to justify. A chapter on Vienna's cultural life rounds with a multitude of great names, but their significance is not made clear to the reader. Excessive dependence on secondary histories of literature weakens the chapter's freshness.

Jenks is at his best in providing the English reader with a clear summary of the nature and growth of new political mass movements in the *fin de siècle*. The most original and fruitful research in the book is a "content-analysis" of Vienna's two leading anti-Semitic papers. Although these are treated in detail for only the last quarter of the year 1907, they yield a rich understanding of the anti-Semite's mind and method. In view of these strengths, one could wish either that the author had left out of his account the targets of the anti-Semitic movements, Viennese Jewry and Viennese high culture, or that he had done the additional research necessary to deal with them adequately.

Wesleyan University

CARL E. SCHORSKE

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION. By John S. Reshetar, Jr. [University of Pennsylvania Foreign Policy Research Institute Series, Number 9.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1960. Pp. ix, 331. \$6.00.)

LENIN provided the presumptions that culminated in Stalin's great purge. Professor Reshetar's history builds on this theme. Lenin was as ruthless, obsessed, headstrong, self-righteous, and confident as his successor, not the kindly humani-

tarian driven to severity by circumstances, as he is sometimes pictured. Stalin's difference lay in his creation of the apparatus of oppression, the organization. Still, this apparatus was not his sole doing, for his colleagues all shared in the process. When Stalin's opponents faced their accuser in the purge, they lacked the will to resist, for they realized they had been caught in their own trap. The system they had helped to create had given Stalin the instrument to create himself a dictator and to overcome the Communist party to which they had looked in an idealistic way for decision based on intraparty democracy.

Khrushchev learned Stalin's organizational secrets and used them to oust Malenkov, but his rise was due to more than manipulation of personnel. He had a strong political instinct, a capacity to develop new programs, a sense of daring. His revulsion against Stalin's methods was limited to Stalin's humiliation of colleagues. He did not object to the suffering imposed on the people by forced collectivization and hasty industrialization. Trotsky's "Clemenceau thesis" of taking the opposition into the streets to arouse the masses against Stalin undid him. His attempted demonstration was broken up by Central Committee representatives, and he was laid bare as a party rebel unwilling to conduct his opposition within party rules which he had helped to shape, and which he would have supported had he been in the position of power. Thereafter, the victory of the party apparatus was assured.

Students of the Russian Revolution have needed a check list prepared without bias, to permit identification of people, events, and ideas. The Stalin-sponsored histories were unreliable because of the self-justification that they sought to establish as truth. Reshetar has done a service in treating the various factions with even-tempered criticism. Still, I closed the book with doubt whether a full Communist party history is manageable within a single volume. Perhaps it can be treated meaningfully, as Bertram Wolfe believes, only impressionistically through biographies of its leaders. Perhaps it cannot take form other than in many volumes, as E. H. Carr believes. There are too many events, people, and ideas in many variations to be comprehensible without the panorama of history. One needs the background, the reasons that give the rise and fall of people and factions meaning. Reshetar may have been assigned the impossible. He has done well with a cruel assignment, being best on the early years when the complexity of events was less, and least effective on Stalin's era when the crush of events requires simplification to accounts of thrusts and counterthrusts.

Personalities obviously deserve attention, but overconcentration causes difficulties. The events following Stalin's death cannot be described solely in terms of the vengeance of an aging Politburo group trying to regain power from Stalin's more youthful *aparatchiki*. The "panic" decree, which Reshetar omits, suggests that the old guard thought the entire Communist system threatened by revolution, and concentration of power was required not out of revenge but to avoid collapse of everything.

For students reviewing for examinations this book will be invaluable. For beginners on the threshold of the Russian Revolution, the volume is probably too condensed to be meaningful.

Columbia University

JOHN N. HAZARD

Far East

FUNDAMENTAL CONSTRUCTION OF *KINAI SHŌEN* IN JAPAN [in Japanese]. By *Sumio Watanabe*. (2d ed.; Tokyo: Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan. 1958. Pp. 1064. 1,300 yen.)

THE author states that past studies on the development of the feudal system in Japan have been inadequate in their analysis of the fundamental and general structure of the *shōen* system. These studies, furthermore, have been done from the viewpoint of political history. Watanabe feels that a more objective approach would be to first investigate the basic structure of the *shōen* system by systematically synthesizing the *shōen* on a regional basis. The main effort of this study is directed to the Kinai *shōen* because it was in the Kinai area that the system originated and attained its purest form. The focus of this regional study is on the *myōden*, the basic unit of the *shōen*.

The book gives especially careful and detailed attention to the role and significance of *fueki* (labor tax) and *zatsu-kuji* (tax on other things besides the paddies) which had been neglected in the study of the *shōen* system. Heretofore, more stress had been placed on the significance of the collection of rice as a form of land tax. The author strongly feels that in contrast to the collection of rice tax, the *fueki* and *zatsu-kuji* differed greatly from region to region and thus were major factors in determining the differences in the structure and nature of the various *shōen* systems.

In the main discourse the Kinai *shōen* is divided into three types. The principal one is the *Kintō-myō shōen*, and the two lesser ones are the *Sekkanke ōbanryō* and the *Bangashira-sei shōen*. The main emphasis is on the *Kintō-myō shōen* to which fourteen of the sixteen chapters in Part II are devoted. Thirty-three *shōen* are presented in detailed analysis.

The area of Kinai, as defined by the author, although focused centrally on the Kinai plain, includes areas as far as Harima to the west, Nōtō to the north, Tōkai to the east, and Kii and Awa to the south.

Most of the records examined are from the late Heian to the middle of the Muromachi period. One criticism is that if the *Kintō-myō* was representative of the late Heian period, there is danger in using historical records from periods as late as the Muromachi.

The book's major contributions are the mass of data compiled from original

sources, new insights on the *fueki* and *zatsu-kuji*, clearer understanding of historical terms associated with the *shōen* system, and, of course, a greater comprehension of the socioeconomic framework of the *shōen*. A general criticism that might be made is that the book is largely descriptive and structural. It does not, for example, discuss how the privately owned lands of the lower classes became *myōden*. Nor does it indicate if resistance was offered by the lower classes in the establishment of the *Kintō-myō* system. But, then, the author never intended the work to be a dynamic study. I would consider this book to be one of the most important basic studies on the *shōen* in recent times.

University of Washington

GEORGE KAKIUCHI

CHINA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE FAMILY OF NATIONS: THE DIPLOMATIC PHASE, 1858-1880. By Immanuel C. Y. Hsü. Foreword by William L. Langer. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 5.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 255, xxxvi. \$5.50.)

THE Western European "family of nations" penetrated Eastern Asia during the second half of the nineteenth century, bringing about the destruction of a long-established regional "family of nations"—that is, the tributary system dominated by China—and drawing into itself the states of China, Japan, and Siam. Although Japan and Siam found it relatively easy to accept nominally equal positions in the expanding international community, it was much more difficult for China, which had been the acknowledged center of Far Eastern civilization throughout its history and was accustomed to look upon non-Chinese peoples as inferiors.

In this study Dr. Hsü examines some of the early diplomatic aspects of China's adjustment to the Western world. He concerns himself primarily with two of these: the establishment of foreign legations in Peking, and the opening of permanent Chinese legations abroad. He also discusses W. A. P. Martin's translation into Chinese of Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* and the Chinese government's limited utilization of international law during the 1860's and 1870's. He has made thorough use of Chinese, English, and American primary sources, including a number of hitherto unused documents, and he has also drawn upon the pertinent Chinese, Japanese, and Western monographic literature.

The aggressive nations of Western Europe found the traditional machinery by which the "universal" Chinese Empire controlled its satellites unacceptable when applied to themselves. A major grievance leading to the first war with England—generally called the Opium War (1839-1842)—was the Chinese refusal to treat Western governments as these governments were accustomed to treat each other. Even the adjustments emanating from this war proved unsatisfactory, with the result that a series of diplomatic and military incidents in the late 1850's culminated in the Treaties of Tientsin and Peking which, among

other outstanding issues, settled the right of the treaty powers to locate diplomatic missions in Peking.

Hsü carefully analyzes the negotiations relating to the resident minister issue carried on in Tientsin, Shanghai, and Peking between 1858 and 1860 by Lord Elgin, representing Great Britain, and the plenipotentiaries of the emperor of China. One of his most valuable contributions is his discussion of the conflicts and misunderstandings that arose from differences in the temperaments and motives of the individual negotiators and from the varying pressures brought upon them because of the basically different points of view of the two civilizations. No less important is his study of the diverse pressures within China during the 1860's and 1870's for and against the establishment of permanent diplomatic missions abroad. Among the Chinese there were strong psychological as well as institutional blocks to both of these diplomatic innovations. The literati, who as Hsü points out, were the censors, courtiers, writers, and gentry, and whose views constituted "public opinion" that even the emperor could not ignore, tended to be entirely satisfied with the status quo and to oppose any changes that might threaten their privileged position. Having great prestige as the guardians of Chinese civilization, they made it very difficult for practical statesmen to carry through adjustments to Western demands that China was not strong enough to resist. Some innovations, including those examined in this book, were ultimately carried through in spite of the opposition of the literati, however, and by 1880 China had begun to emerge from its isolation.

Hsü supports the conclusion previously reached by Mary Wright and some other scholars that there were no ideological differences during the 1860's and 1870's between Chinese and Manchu officials, that representatives of each group were to be found in both the progressive and the reactionary camps. I regret the omission from this book of discussion of the audience question, which was also a part of the problem of China's adjustment to Western diplomatic procedures. And I wish that Hsü had had time for a more thorough analysis of Chinese and foreign attitudes toward the new foreign office created in 1861, the *Tsungli Yamen*.

Cornell University

KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF

America

THE COSTS OF DEMOCRACY. By *Alexander Heard*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. xxv, 493. \$6.00.)

ALEXANDER Heard, political science professor at the University of North Carolina and author of *A Two-Party South* (1952), has written a sound, sensible, and

thoughtful study of money in elections. It is the first major attempt to do so at any length since the pioneering activities of James K. Pollock, *Party Campaign Funds* (1926), and Louise Overacker, *Money in Elections* (1932). Heard has ranged widely in his research, utilizing not only legislative hearings, scholarly articles, books and unpublished dissertations, but information accumulated by the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections on the 1952 and 1956 elections. In addition, since, as he so wisely writes, "Politicians know what politicians do better than anyone else," he and those who helped him gather raw data interviewed more than six hundred politicians in off-the-record conversations. Most of them, understandably, desired anonymity and, as a result, no source could be cited for much of the information so furnished.

Although there is a dearth of hard, comprehensive, readily available information on political finance, Heard contends that when official reports are "supplemented by data from other sources, and used discriminatingly, such information can deepen understanding of political finance and of the broader processes of politics." The author has applied a discriminating mind to this material and, in addition to furnishing us with a valuable study of electoral financing, he also illuminates both the nature of our political system and the attitudes many Americans hold toward politics.

Lengthy treatment is given to many important questions, including the effect of expenditures on the outcome of elections, the significance of campaign contributions as a form of political action and as an avenue to preferment, the sources of campaign funds, including those from businesses, public employees, unions, and the underworld, the methods of raising funds and the resulting effect on the management of the parties and on the nominating process, the need for campaign expenditures and the changing character and function of expenditures particularly with the development of television, and an analysis of proposals for changing the present system with Heard's own suggestions as to what he considers feasible. He concludes: "No fundamental change will be effected in the United States in the processes of campaign finance, by legislation or otherwise, without altered public attitudes and without public recognition of the functions of campaign expenditures, of the propriety of providing them, and of the penalties for not doing so in socially healthy ways."

Among the significant conclusions he reaches are that existing legislative limitations are below the costs of campaigning, funds are more important in the nominating process than in determining the election outcome, the financial gap separating the Republicans and the Democrats is a moderate one, the decentralized nature of our parties is vividly illustrated in the dependence on fund raising at the state and local levels for national activities, and, despite widespread cynicism, the American system of elections "is a remarkably successful instrument of government."

This is an invaluable book for students of the recent past. For historians years

hence it should be equally valuable since, as a source book of the times, it contains much information that otherwise would have disappeared.

University of Chicago

WALTER JOHNSON

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE: THE PRESIDENTIAL IMAGE IN THE CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHY. By *William Burlie Brown*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 177. \$4.00.)

By gathering into his composite campaign biography the historic parts that make up the presidential mold, Brown gives us a new theme in the study of our national politics, and he does it with most engaging humor. The first few paragraphs make it clear that there will be much amusement as well as information imparted while the author works his way through 136 years of lives of presidential possibilities. But this is not to say that Brown ridicules the campaign biography. On the contrary, he takes it quite seriously. Conceding readily that the campaign biography does not provide first-rate material for a study of campaign issues, the author does see it as an excellent source for an examination of "those appeals that were thought to strike the American voter much deeper than his temporary and changing opinions on political questions of the moment."

Thus there emerges over the years what might be called the pervading portrait of the "ideal citizen." Down to the 1960 campaign lives of Vice-President Richard M. Nixon and Senator John F. Kennedy the purpose has always been the same—to "clothe with flesh and to animate with the words and actions of their subject." From this comes the national ideal personality holding the opinions and convictions, the attitudes and feelings, that the voters venerate when they go to the polls.

As a means of presenting a digest of so much material about so many people, Brown hit on a happy, skillful plan that lends itself to light and humorous touches. He takes all he has read in campaign biographies, shakes it up thoroughly, and then allows it to settle down into the stereotyped life of the typical candidate who is in fact all of the scores of them rolled into one. This amusing approach influences the chapter headings. The ancestry of the candidate comes to us, for example, under "The Blood of Heroes," while his parents are presented as "The Hand That Rocked the Cradle."

Brown produces a sketch of the perennial, enduring candidate of the past.

He is a man whose Northern European ancestors fought tyranny in the Old World, settled in America before 1776, and gallantly served the patriot cause in the Revolution. His parents are admirable folk, mindful of their duty to rear their son in patriotic virtue and Christian piety. He grows up in humble circumstances, enjoying a happy, active boyhood but one that is not without its struggle to rise, through education and hard work, above the station in life into which he had been born. Midway in his climb to success, he is summoned from his peaceful pursuits to defend his country. Like generations of minutemen before him, he responds instantly and covers himself with glory. His country's hour of peril successfully weathered, he resumes his civilian career.

By the time he is nominated, the various occupations he has followed in his struggle to the top have included farming, practicing law and directing a business enterprise. He has taken part in the public life of the nation—not, however, as an occupation, but as a service to his community which, as is its right, demanded his talents. As he sits before the hearth in his own unpretentious home awaiting the verdict of the people, one sees a plain, simple man of modest means, surrounded by a dutiful, loving wife and adoring children; a man of practical good sense and boundless energy, a man of deep but unostentatious piety, of impeccable moral character, and sturdy republican virtue.

Collinsville, Illinois

IRVING DILLIARD

HIGH COUNTRY EMPIRE: THE HIGH PLAINS AND ROCKIES. By Robert G. Athearn. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1960. Pp. viii, 358. \$6.95.)

SEVEN states, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas, comprise the High Country Empire, but Professor Athearn has placed them all on the same stage. His drama is the history of some two hundred years, and he develops it like the skillful director of a vast regional panorama.

The procession of men and events is a familiar one. It begins with the French and Spanish trapper-explorers. Then came the Louisiana Purchase and the expeditions of Lewis and Clark, Zebulon Pike, and Stephen Long, whose reports about the treeless plains helped to establish for half a century the concept of the Great American Desert. After the passing of the beaver and the mountain men came the years when the High Country Empire was viewed chiefly as a troublesome obstacle on the road to California and Oregon. But the cultivation of Kansas plains and the discovery of Colorado gold in the middle and late 1850's changed thinking about the region. The permanent settlers came after the Civil War, and nothing better documents the extent of regional change than that they came on railroads. The "Great Invasion" of American and European farmers brought an end to the cattle kingdom and, with the help of the army, the Indian empire. Nothing could stop the sodbusters, not warnings, drought, depression, or grasshoppers. They arrived by the confident thousands, and by the end of the century they had wiped out America's last frontier. But they had done it with reckless disregard of the climate and the physical make-up of the land, and they discovered too late that the difficulties they had been struggling against were not unusual and temporary, but permanent, and in the purest sense, natural. "It was at that moment," declares Athearn, "that the high plains truly became a region. Common problems, common hatreds, and common hopes drove together a people who felt they were victims of a giant conspiracy, a hoax, and they resolved to strike back." Much of the subsequent history of the region concerns the "striking back." The radical Populism of the plains farmers in the 1890's was paralleled in the mountains by the radical unionism of the miners, now become day laborers for the big mining companies. Men of the high plains and Rockies had always fought nature; now they struggled as well against the railroads, against "foreign"

(i.e., eastern) capitalists, against market prices, and both for and against government conservation and reclamation programs.

The regional approach to history is a valuable one. It emphasizes the unity of men within an environment rather than, as in the case of conventional political history, the distinctions between them signified by artificial state boundaries. But the two approaches need not be mutually exclusive, and our appreciation of the history of the High Country Empire might have been increased had we been told more about the character of its political life.

Athearn writes easily and lightly, but he is never frivolous, and his humor illuminates while it entertains. He has the ability, made possible by organization and thorough knowledge of the sources, to develop themes and problems without removing them from their larger context. He has given us an interesting and mature synthesis of the history of an important region.

San Diego State College

A. P. NASATIR

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume I, JANUARY 6, 1706 THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1734. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.* [Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1959. Pp. lxxxviii, 400. \$7.50.)

ON January 17, 1954 ("New Style"), the 248th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, it was announced that arrangements had been made for the publication of a new and comprehensive collection of Franklin's papers. This massive venture, which is expected to run to some forty printed volumes, is sponsored jointly by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University. In the words of the introduction, "It cannot, of course, be complete, for there are manuscripts we have not been able to find and Franklin writings we have not identified. In a larger sense, no edition of Franklin's writings could ever be complete, for many of his papers were lost or destroyed in his lifetime, to say nothing of the vicissitudes others have suffered since."

This volume is the first of the project and covers the period from Franklin's birth, on January 6, 1706 ("Old Style"), through December 31, 1734. In the general introduction, which is also the introduction to the whole work, the editors explain the problems of finding and reproducing papers, their methods of work, and their plans. Indeed, they say, "We began as scholars, but have become sleuths and venturesome serendipitists as well." The editors have also included in the introductory material genealogical lists and charts of the English Franklins, of the Folger family, of the descendants of Josiah Franklin (other than those of Benjamin), and of the descendants of Benjamin Franklin himself. In addition they have prepared a chronology of the principal events of Franklin's life during the years covered by the volume.

The volume contains as nearly as possible everything that Franklin wrote, up

to and including the year 1734. Here appear such famous pieces as the fourteen "Silence Dogood" papers (1722), "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain" (1725), the journal of Franklin's voyage from London to Philadelphia in 1726, "Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion" (1728), the "Busy-Body" papers and "The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency" (1729), and the "Casuist" papers (1729, 1732). The entire first issue of *Poor Richard* (1733) is reproduced in facsimile; the first two issues (1733, 1734) are substantially reprinted, but without the calendars and other informational data. Here also appear certain papers relative to the "Junto" and the Library Company, and out of the pages of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* are drawn the commentaries of those droll and perspicacious characters, Alice Addertongue, Anthony Afterwit, and Celia Single.

The editorial work is superlatively good. The editors have taken great care to identify every person and document, to give the location for each of the latter, and to arrive at the most accurate attributions possible of the authorship of the various documents presented. Nevertheless, since this is intended to be a collection of Franklin's "papers" and not merely his "writings," certain questions inevitably arise as to the selection of the papers not written by Franklin himself. There is, for example, among the Franklin papers in the University of Pennsylvania, an important paper by James Logan entitled "Of the State of the British Plantations in America," in Franklin's handwriting. This paper was printed in Joseph E. J. Johnson, "A Quaker Imperialist's View of the British Colonies in America: 1732" (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LX [1936], 113-30). Although Franklin thought this document important enough to copy himself, the editors of his papers apparently felt compelled to omit it because it has been printed elsewhere. One wonders whether there are many such documents among Franklin's papers that were omitted here for want of space, and whether a more generous editorial policy might have been of greater value in the long run. The case illustrates the problem of selection that the editors must face, a problem that must inevitably grow more difficult and complex as publication proceeds.

This major project in historical publication is off to a superb start. The editors are to be congratulated and encouraged.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

ALEXANDER HAMILTON: PORTRAIT IN PARADOX. By John C. Miller.
(New York: Harper and Brothers. 1959. Pp. xii, 659. \$8.50.)

THE literature on the founding fathers continues to grow apace, the documentation of which can be examined annually as volumes of one type or another appear on Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Franklin, Adams, and Hamilton, to mention the most obvious. Perhaps our preoccupation with these men is as much

an insight into our own times as it is into that of the revolutionary generation. Future historians might well find that the fervent contemporary search, not only for the worth of the individual but also for the assurance that an individual can count for something, is a key to the mind of our generation in which the impersonal forces seem increasingly to dominate world affairs, creating conditions that appear unyielding to individual effort.

In many ways Hamilton was a man with an eye to the larger forces, although he often misjudged them as John C. Miller's book reemphasizes. A product of more than a decade of research and writing, this volume is difficult to classify. It is not, strictly speaking, a biography; neither is it a history of the times with Hamilton as its center. In some ways it is a portrait, but for the most part it is a thorough examination of Hamilton's political career. Miller's approach resembles that of Brant's *Madison*, for in each case the author engages in a running commentary on the writings on his subject. Because Madison left a much richer record, Brant's volumes can be more precise. Miller, however, has produced the best and most detailed discussion of Hamilton's later political career, just as Broadus Mitchell has written the best study of Hamilton's early life. Indeed, about two-thirds of Miller's book is devoted to those years when Hamilton's leadership and political activity placed him at the center of the national stage.

As would be expected from his previous work, Miller describes fully and gracefully the many threads running through Hamilton's career. The documentation is ample, though I am not in a position to judge whether it includes the materials being gathered for the new edition of Hamilton letters. Miller does not plead Hamilton's case unduly although occasionally he is less than objective in writing of Hamilton's opponents when they advocate a course different from that of his subject. The most notable example is the author's treatment of George Clinton, while an impartial treatment of Jefferson and Madison is not always preserved. Within the narrative Miller evaluates the contribution made by Hamilton, and, when necessary, Hamilton's limitations or errors of judgment.

The author's emphasis, which is entirely defensible, does omit subjects that a different frame of reference would have included. The growth of parties between 1790 and 1800, for example, is viewed largely in terms of the principle political figures, rather than in terms of its political background. The formation of the Bank of the United States with the assessment that it created a sectional party is discussed at length, but its specific operations and impact are not traced. The author considers the South and other sections as monolithic units, but a closer examination of the political reactions in various states, particularly those which had strongly supported the Constitution when it was originally adopted, might have proved illuminating. By emphasizing the narrative thread, moreover, Miller neglects some of the broader controversial interpretations of the period.

Hamilton, as well as Jefferson, is quite definitely coming into his own. Miller's book not only demonstrates this, but it serves as an excellent point of departure

Hopkins: Papers of Henry Clay

to search out and test the broader interpretations of the formative period and of nation making.

Northwestern University

CLARENCE L. VER STEEG

THE PAPERS OF HENRY CLAY. Volume I, THE RISING STATESMAN, 1797-1814. Edited by *James F. Hopkins*. Associate editor *Mary W. M. Hargreaves*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 1037. \$15.00.)

THE Henry Clay who hurries deliberately from Lexington to Ghent by way of Washington in this expertly edited and beautifully printed volume, though still warm and impetuous, is more concerned with law and business than the Clay we have known. The Kentucky of the 1800's was a microcosm of the age of enterprise, a lawyer's paradise where everyone speculated in land or risked in commercial and manufacturing ventures money that was only for the moment his, relying on his lawyer and his representative in the legislature—often one and the same man—to keep him out of trouble. Into this world of title searches, damage claims, debt settlements, and property adjustments, Clay fitted easily, and by 1803 when he first went to the legislature he was already the spokesman of business and that he continued to be throughout his life. With Jefferson he denounced the Alien and Sedition Acts and supported the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. His legal and business interests, however, pointed in the opposite direction, toward the centralized national government of Hamilton and Marshall that would enforce contracts, subsidize industry, build the roads and canals so necessary to link the growing West with the Atlantic cities.

Clay shared with the West an exuberant expansionism and an uneasy ambiguity toward slavery, but he was never sectional or provincial. His law practice extended from New England to New Orleans, bringing him into contact with many well-known men. In the light of Clay's involvements with manufacturing and transportation, it is no surprise to find him, on his return to the Senate in 1810, favoring government aid to both. In opposing recharter of the Bank at the same session he was following the pure Republican doctrine, but he was moving steadily away from Jefferson. Even after his shift to the House, where he became leader of the War Hawks, his legal and business activities continued. Politics, however, began to absorb more and more of his interest. Here the easy manners, convivial temperament, and outgoing personality that occasionally reveal themselves even in an accounting with a client, were displayed to their best advantage. When he went to Europe in 1814 as one of the peace commissioners, Henry Clay was known the country over and admired in most of it. He lacked the brilliance of Calhoun, the tenacity of Webster, the scholarship of Adams, and the insights of Crawford, yet he would surpass them all in the qualities of leadership.

These qualities matured at Ghent, where he rubbed shoulders and occasion-

ally knocked heads with such veterans as Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard, and was advised behind the scenes by Crawford, then American minister in France. Always with an eye to visiting Paris, never losing touch with his many interests back home, often bored with the slow repetitiousness of the diplomatic process, Clay yet contributed his full share and more to the peace negotiations. In his frequent and sometimes acrimonious battles with Adams he matched the aggressive acquisitiveness of the West against New England's predilection for the status quo. He was ready to argue, cajole, or manipulate in order to gain on paper the concessions that American arms had failed to win on the battlefield. Yet in the end he signed a treaty that granted none of them. He had learned the ultimate political lesson of compromise that would unlock for him all doors but one.

The papers here printed give little information of a family nature. There is one letter from Clay's wife; a few business exchanges with his brother, and some correspondence with various connections by marriage. Yet by a sort of alchemy peculiar to such documents, skillfully abetted by the editors, much of a personal nature is revealed. This volume and those to follow will be invaluable to the admirer of Clay and to all students of the critical first half of the nineteenth century.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES M. WILTSE

GOVERNMENT PROMOTION OF AMERICAN CANALS AND RAILROADS, 1800-1890. By *Carter Goodrich*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 382. \$7.50.)

INTERNAL improvements have ever been important on the American scene, first as a political issue, then as a practical policy, and finally as a subject of historical study. Indeed, few aspects of American development have received so much attention from historians as has transportation—the very essence of the internal improvement idea. A mere glance at the bibliography of this book will suffice to dispel any lingering doubts on this score. In fact many people might be disposed to wonder whether a new work on governmental aid to canals and railways in this country could add anything of importance to our understanding of this subject.

It is precisely because of the plethora of monographic literature on the various facets of this general theme that the time was ripe for a fresh look at and a new synthesis of this mountain of material. Notwithstanding the substantial amount of original work done by Mr. Goodrich and his associates, this book is primarily a synthesis, albeit a very good one.

The book's most important single point is that, depending upon time and circumstance, all parts of the country, all political parties, and all important groups supported public assistance—federal, state, or local—to canals and railways. The

paramount importance of state and local aid to the canals and railways extending from the Atlantic seaboard to the great interior valley is made crystal clear. Local, state, and federal government aid to canals and railways in New England, the lower South, and the Old Northwest in the ante bellum era receives careful treatment. Federal land grants to railways, 1850-1871, is discussed in detail, and state assistance to railways in the South during Reconstruction is not slighted.

The author's conclusions are more corroborative than revolutionary. Only in detail do they modify earlier findings and assumptions. Public aid was confined to those projects for which private enterprise was unwilling to assume the entire risk or for which the amount of capital required exceeded the means of private corporations. Government assistance accounted for about 70 per cent of the total investment in canal construction to 1860. State and local participation in railway building usually took the form of loans or stock subscription rather than direct construction. In the eleven states that later composed the Confederacy public agencies contributed over 55 per cent of the cost of all railway construction to 1861. Of the four railway lines built across the Appalachians before 1860, public sources provided approximately one half of the capital for the Baltimore and Ohio, the Erie, and the Pennsylvania, but only a very minor part of the funds for the New York Central. Not all public aid to canals and railways brought financial loss to the contributors; a number of projects paid good returns on the investment.

Conspicuously missing from the book is any attempt to appraise the merits of congressional land grants to railways. Within recent years discussion of this controversial subject has tended to generate rather more heat than light. For that reason the historical fraternity would have welcomed the author's mature judgment on this question. This book, if not definitive, will certainly be accepted as the standard work on the subject with which it deals.

Brown University

JAMES B. HEDGES

THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS: SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDES TOWARD RACE IN AMERICA, 1815-59. By *William Stanton*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 244. \$4.00.)

In this book Stanton analyzes scientific attitudes toward race in America from 1815 to 1859 with discrimination, wit, and a fine eye for both science and social history. This is a subject more often cited than understood, more often quoted out of context than seen in its total setting. Stanton has made a real contribution to the history of ideas in testing the long-forgotten motives and assumptions of the so-called American school of anthropology. Beginning with the Jeffersonian belief in the unity of the human race, especially as displayed in the work of Samuel Stanhope Smith, Stanton develops step by step the rise of a school that based its idea of race on the separate creation of the various human races as

distinct species. One after another the pluralists come alive from the manuscripts the author has widely sought and ably sifted.

Samuel G. Morton played a guiding role and lent a modicum of scientific respectability from the central location of Philadelphia where he gathered his huge collection of human skulls. George R. Gliddon, who "would have fascinated Huck Finn much as the Duke and the Dauphin did," provided a mixture of public ballyhoo, popular Egyptology, and scurrilous anticlericalism. Dr. Josiah Nott of Mobile, his eye on the Negro and slavery as well as medicine, had his attention first called to the distinctness of the races by the discussion of the 1840 census. Ephriam George Squier added the study of American antiquities, mounds in Ohio, to imply that the races of man had been separate almost since the Biblical creation. The group reached the height of its power and renown when it gained the adherence of a late-comer with a European reputation, the incomparable Louis Agassiz. In tracing the rise and fall of the American school of anthropology, Stanton concludes that it was more anticlerical than proslavery and that it stood for the freedom of science as well as for the subjugation of a part of the human race.

These conclusions deserve some modification, not, however, because Stanton has failed to understand and sensitively delineate the American school of pluralists. What he inadequately realizes is that the opposing view, a belief in the unity of the human species, was itself a deep scientific stream, flowing rapidly in the 1850's, depending not on Scripture but on a huge mass of data drawn from the whole plant and animal kingdoms. He sees the opposition of M. A. Curtis and John Bachman, and somewhat less clearly that of James Dwight Dana and Asa Gray, but he does not explain that they were part of a connected movement, nor that the latter two worked by research rather than polemic. When Stanton says, "if not all American naturalists had been captured, at least none now openly opposed the doctrine," he misses the relevance of the many pages in the *American Journal of Science* devoted to the work of Joseph D. Hooker and even Charles Darwin. This stream of scientific thought was strong enough without entering popular debate with the likes of Gliddon to dethrone Agassiz in 1859, and by knocking over the greatest pluralist of them all to prepare the way for the *Origin of Species* to bring Stanton's story to a close.

University of California, Berkeley

A. HUNTER DUPREE

THE AMERICAN PETROLEUM INDUSTRY: THE AGE OF ILLUMINATION 1859-1899. By *Harold F. Williamson* and *Arnold R. Daum*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 864. \$7.50.)

THIS is the first of a two-volume history of the United States petroleum industry. Its publication coincided with the one hundredth anniversary of the industry. Considering the fact that the industry was born and reached its peak

of development in the United States and revolutionized economic and social life here and in many parts of the world, it is surprising that one hundred years passed before such a history appeared.

The volume is significant and outstanding for several reasons. It is the first comprehensive and integrated history of the development of the industry in the United States. Many books and articles have been written on various aspects of the industry since its beginning in 1859, but until now there has been no single full-length history to which scholars and general readers could turn for ready reference. This book is the product of a vast amount of thorough research. Its authors have drawn extensively upon original sources and leading secondary studies and have presented an excellent synthesis of these materials. A grant from the American Petroleum Institute to the Northwestern University Center for Social Research has made possible the research and writing of this well-written, scholarly, and objective study, which sets a high standard for historical workmanship. It will be the standard reference work in the field for many years to come.

After reviewing the use of petroleum in ancient times, the search for new illuminants in the 1850's, and the rise of the coal oil industry, the book traces the evolution of the petroleum industry from the Drake Well in 1859 to the end of the nineteenth century. Since kerosene was the chief product manufactured and used, the period is known as the "Age of Illumination." Using both a chronological and a topical approach, the authors present a well-balanced and detailed account of early wells, boom towns, leasing, techniques used in drilling and refining, the growth of refineries, transportation methods, prices and profits, by-products, marketing at home and abroad, railroads and the oil trade, pipeline construction and operation, oil exchanges, organization of oil companies, interesting biographical sketches of oil men, the spread of production, foreign competition, and a host of other subjects. An excellent job has been done in weaving into the narrative the rise and development of the Standard Oil organization, its practices and activities, its relationship to major developments within the industry, and the beginning of attacks on the trust. Many maps, charts, illustrations, and statistical tables are scattered through the volume; other statistical tables and pertinent materials are in the appendix.

Hamline University

PAUL H. GIDDENS

MARK TWAIN-HOWELLS LETTERS: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL L. CLEMENS AND WILLIAM D. HOWELLS, 1872-1910. In two volumes. Edited by *Henry Nash Smith* and *William M. Gibson*, with the assistance of *Frederick Anderson*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xxv, 454; 455-948. \$20.00 the set.)

CLEMENS and Howells were intimate friends for forty years, and their correspondence comprises 680 extant letters, notes, and telegrams. In bulk, this must

be one of the major collections in American history. For specialists in literary history it will be indispensable, but for the general reader it will probably be disappointing. Perhaps the correspondents saw each other too frequently; at any rate some of the best letters are those exchanged while Clemens was in Europe. As professional literary men, Clemens and Howells were constantly writing for publication. Consequently, their letters, unlike those of Jefferson or Justice Holmes, merely supplemented the writers' major literary efforts. Many of them deal with abortive and fruitless efforts at play writing. Clemens' letters always snap with vitality and are generally the more rewarding, although Howells gradually learned to respond in kind.

The correspondence is, nevertheless, in many ways an intriguing one. Both men were children of the Gilded Age, self-made literary entrepreneurs from the West who were shouldering their way ahead in the eastern literary capital. The awe in which they held men like Emerson, Holmes, and Longfellow is indicated by their rather ludicrous agonizing over some harmless spoofing by Clemens at a dinner for Whittier in 1877. There are other instances of Clemens' morbid concern over imagined offenses to New England literary celebrities. Howells' famous critical principle of reticence is much in evidence in comments on Clemens' manuscripts. Howells had been editor of the *Atlantic* when Clemens first came East, and as such became his literary patron and adviser. He censored such terms as "devil" and "hick" wherever Clemens used them; passages from *The Prince and the Pauper* were deleted as unfit for boys. Clemens accepted such suggestions gladly, apparently because of his keen desire to be accepted in the most genteel circles. One gets the impression that while Olivia Clemens and Howells did exert a restraining influence on Clemens' writing, it was possible because of his own craving for acceptance. The obverse side of Clemens' ambition is his humiliation and contempt for his perennially unsuccessful brother, Orion. The letters describing Orion's misadventures are priceless.

The editorial annotations are extraordinarily rich and voluminous; in many ways they are more rewarding than the letters themselves. Henry Nash Smith has furnished the notes on Clemens' letters, William M. Gibson those on Howells'. The notes range from factual data and explications of references to information on the evolution of manuscripts and brief dissertations on significant problems of interpretation.

University of Iowa

STOW PERSONS

TO THE GOLDEN DOOR: THE STORY OF THE IRISH IN IRELAND AND AMERICA. By *George Potter*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1960. Pp. viii, 631. \$6.50.)

DESPITE its subtitle, *To The Golden Door* (the title was taken from Emma Lazarus' "The New Colossus" inscribed on the Statue of Liberty) is primarily an

attempt to tell the story of what happened to the more than two million Irish who flocked to American shores by the end of the 1850's. The book, a labor of love by a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist of Irish descent, must regrettably remain an unfinished monument to its author's efforts; Mr. Potter died of a heart attack in August 1959.

Containing no preface, introduction, or conclusion, the work is divided into three parts. Since the first two parts (entitled, respectively, "Where They Came From" and "How They Got Across the Ocean") comprise only 150 out of more than six hundred pages, it is clear that the author meant no more in these pages than to sketch a social portrait of the Irish as a background against which to understand their actions and attitudes in the United States. The picture he painted is one of unrelieved oppression, poverty, and despair for which he largely blamed the British. Potter's strong anti-British bias unfortunately beclouded his judgment. For example, he took the British government to task for lack of "humanity and common sense" because of their ineffective handling of the famine, and repeated the old peasant dictum that "Almighty God sent the potato blight but the English created a famine." Had he consulted the excellent volume on *The Great Famine* edited by R. Dudley Edwards and T. Desmond Williams, he would have found that contemporary Irish historians are inclined toward a more judicious appraisal of English policy.

The author was at his best in Part III ("What Befell Them in America"), and this is where the importance of his work lies. Recognizing that the history of an immigrant group must be based upon the experiences of the individuals who composed it, he rightly concentrated his attention upon the ordinary men and women of rural Catholic Ireland who predominated in the Irish exodus and who became the laborers, factory workers, artisans, and domestic servants in a growing America. Potter collected a vast amount of information and presented it in a series of lively sketches spiced with wit, drama, and anecdote. In doing so, however, he imparted to the book an episodic character as he moved nimbly from one facet of Irish immigrant life to another. While this may be good journalism, it lacks the integrating unity of good history. Thus, while Potter described Irish work gangs on canals and railroads, he did not systematically analyze their importance within the larger context of the total American work force. Similarly, while he described the nativist outbursts of the 1830's, 1840's, and 1850's, he did not examine the more fundamental problem, the process of Irish absorption into the American social order. Had he lived longer, perhaps Potter might have distilled from his voluminous material a true history of the Irish immigrants in America. As it is, the job still remains to be done.

Finally, with the omission of both footnotes and bibliography as a guide to the sources used and with an index that includes only personal names but no subjects, the usefulness of this volume is greatly diminished.

University of Cincinnati

ARNOLD SCHRIER

SOUTHERN TRADITION AND REGIONAL PROGRESS. By *William H. Nicholls*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. xviii, 202. \$5.00.)

THE author of this volume is a southerner who went North for educational and professional experience and returned to a southern university a dozen years ago. A trained economist, he has considerable competence as historian, political scientist, and sociologist. Recent manifestations of "traditional race antagonisms" led him to abandon hope that his region could reconcile progress and tradition and to conclude that it must select one of the alternatives. Admitting a bias that prefers progress, he proposes greater urbanization and more industrialization as basic answers to the South's rural low-income problem.

In the absence of a systematic and comprehensive study of southern tradition, Mr. Nicholls has relied heavily upon the works of competent historians and social scientists who have skirted the subject, and he has made his own contribution toward its understanding. He commends the Nashville Agrarians as humanists who portrayed the good life and gracious living, but he characterizes them economically as "abominable advisers on the means of achieving greater material well-being." To promote progress by eliminating per capita income lag, the South should abandon racial and rural traditions, improve education and health of both races, and attract industrialists by advertising realistic advantages rather than traditional superficialities.

Nicholls transcends the past to engage in policy making, and thereby makes an estimable contribution. His "Positive Program for Southern Economic Progress" merits serious consideration by state, county, and municipal officials as well as by agriculturists and industrialists. Scholars will profit from his book, as will enlightened public servants. Politicians whose myopic visions are focused on the next election will hardly heed Nicholls' words of warning, benefit from his economic diagnosis, or administer prescribed medicine. Admitting that "the atmosphere is still murky," he believes that moderate leaders in North Carolina and Tennessee, and perhaps in Virginia and Florida too, have cast their lot with progress; in the Deep South tradition has received predominant acceptance.

The effect of southern tradition on the intellect is apparent throughout Nicholls' study. The South's "like-mindedness" precluded thought and rejected "novelty and innovation"; lack of intellectual curiosity contributed to the same ends. The author devotes considerable space to school integration, its relation to tradition, and its effect upon progress. He contrasts the "firmness and courage" of responsible Tennessee officials with the "subversive leadership" of Orville Faubus in Arkansas. If racial antagonism in higher education continues, he foresees permanent retardation. No one would disagree that public and private universities in the South developed remarkably in the decade following World War II. Had Nicholls labored earlier in the vineyard, he might have added that advancement was quite as remarkable, perhaps more so, in the ten or fifteen years before the war.

The seven chapters in *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress* are prefaced by apt quotations from Shakespeare, Carlyle, Pliny the Elder, and Emerson. Their use is a measure of the writer's erudition, but they seem none too appropriate for a book that nowhere achieves distinguished prose. More pains with the text would have improved literary craftsmanship and have justified examples from the masters.

University of Oregon

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

ARMS AND POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA. By *Edwin Lieuwen*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1960. Pp. xiii, 296. \$4.75.)

THIS monograph contains 262 pages of narrative, plus a short preface, two appendixes, and a bibliographic note. The narrative is divided into two parts: "Latin America's Armed Forces" and "Military Aspects of the Latin American Policy of the United States." Because of loose organization, poorly defined terminology (sometimes equivalent to meaningless jargon), and numerous factual errors and contradictory generalizations, the volume tends to confuse and irritate. It might be reduced to half its size by rigorous organization and elimination of repetitions and untenable dogmatic conclusions.

The first part, which attempts to survey the role of armed forces in the politics of Latin America since independence, with emphasis on the period since 1914, contains a sort of extraneous chapter on the "crumbling of the traditional order." Dr. Lieuwen contends that the period prior to 1914 was "static" and the period following that date "dynamic." In order to reveal the absurdity of his contention one need do no more than mention rubber, coffee, bananas, sugar, nitrates, industrial metals, wheat, livestock, barbed wire, windmills, food processing, textiles, steamship lines, railways, telegraphs, telephones, electric utilities, commercial banks, systems of public education—all expanded or introduced during the alleged static period—or recall the emancipation of millions of Negro slaves. Here, as also in the second part, the author too readily assumes that opposition to any dictator is motivated by democratic aspirations and that the ousting of a dictator anywhere is likely to promote democracy. The most rewarding chapter in this segment of the book is the one in which he attempts to classify the twenty countries on the basis of the political influence of their respective military forces. He first asserts that they are "nonpolitical" in three or four republics and then says that they are "nonpolitical" in six.

In the second part of the volume Lieuwen presents various arguments against the military aid program of the United States and in favor of curtailment of such aid, at least to Latin American governments that do not have "acceptable democratic processes," failing, however, to define this term. He says that this military assistance tends to retard "the normal evolution of Latin America," failing again

to explain what he means by "normal evolution." In fact, he seldom uses the words "evolution" or "change," preferring more exciting terms that suggest a crash, a crisis, and a challenge. His arguments against United States military aid to the governments of Latin America can be summarized in a few words: it is an unnecessary, harmful, and wasteful expenditure. As in Part I, he introduces into this segment of his book a somewhat extraneous topic, namely, economic and technical assistance, urging more and more trade and more and more technical and economic aid. But such statistics as he offers indicate that he has only a vague notion of the postwar expenditures of the United States on these programs in Latin America and elsewhere.

The truth is that Lieuwen either is not familiar with many of the documents and treatises bearing on the large subject that he discusses or refuses to mention them because they might refute some of his contentions. The names of several of the most distinguished scholars in the field do not appear in his footnotes or his bibliography. Many of his assertions are supported by a single citation, from a newspaper, a magazine, or a book published by an amateur historian.

In spite of all its faults, however, this volume should not be dismissed as completely unreliable and worthless. A pioneer work on a subject so vast in scope cannot be perfected within a year or so. If read with critical caution, it can be both stimulating and helpful in other ways. Its very defects should forcefully suggest to the Council on Foreign Relations that manuscripts in this field ought to be submitted to some outstanding experts for revision before publication.

Durham, North Carolina

J. FRED RIPPY

HISTORIOGRAFÍA PARAGUAYA. Volume I, PARAGUAY INDIGENA, ESPAÑOL Y JESUITA. By *Efraím Cardozo*. [Historiografías, V.] (México, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia. 1959. Pp. 610.)

BEGINNING in 1953 the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia began publishing a series of detailed bibliographic works on individual Latin American areas, usually covering a limited time span. To date volumes dealing with Haiti, the British West Indies to 1900, Ecuador, Brazil in the sixteenth century, and Paraguay in the prediscovery and colonial periods have appeared. At present a volume on Brazil in the seventeenth century is "at the press," and one on Cuba is in preparation. The present volume, actually completed in 1954 although not published until 1959, is the work of Efraím Cardozo, son of Ramón Indalecio Cardozo, famous educator and onetime director of Paraguay's normal schools. The younger Cardozo, a lawyer and newspaper editor (*El Liberal* of Asunción and *La Razón* of Buenos Aires), has a long bibliography on Paraguayan history to his credit.

This volume is probably the most enterprising bibliographic and historiographic compilation on Paraguay undertaken in modern times, and when the volume on the republican period appears, the completed work should be definitive. One of the book's most valuable contributions is in the first part (there are six parts in the volume) where the various repositories and collections available in Asunción are described briefly with reference to microfilming and photocopying facilities. In addition to archival sources Cardozo lists most of the well-known biobibliographic and bibliographic works.

The third part of the volume is devoted to writings on various aspects of the aboriginal history of Paraguay with special emphasis on ethnography, archaeology, and "spiritual and social life" (mythology, folklore, sociology, arts). The section on prehistory accounts for the emigration of local aboriginal peoples into various neighboring areas, some as far removed as Chile.

The fourth part dealing with discovery and early settlement, the fifth with the development and extension of the mission system, and the sixth with the complicated and highly controversial problem of demarcation of local boundary lines between Spain and Portugal comprise well over half of the volume and are all organized in much the same manner. After a brief discussion of sources and published collections, Cardozo selects the more prominent writers on each of the topics, giving a brief biography of each and then a detailed listing of all works by that author pertaining to Paraguayan subjects. For each author he indicates what has been written about the man and what critical works there are concerning his contributions to the field, and then he lists all of his pertinent writings. He concludes the section on each author with his evaluation of the man's importance and influence. It is here that some authorities may question Cardozo's choice of authors. In discussing the problem of boundary settlements, Cardozo relies heavily on the extensive writings of Félix de Azara (1742-1821), including his 1806 description of yerba maté. The whole section on Azara and his writings covers forty-seven pages.

Cardozo concludes his volume with over sixty pages of bibliography, listing alphabetically by author the major works discussed in the text and an alphabetical (author and title) index and a general topical index. This work maintains the Instituto's high standards of scholarship and makes a most significant contribution to the study of Paraguay, her peoples, institutions, and history, in the pre-independence period.

University of Georgia

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

DAS INTERESSE AN DER GESCHICHTE: ZWÖLF VORLESUNGEN ÜBER FRAGEN DES ZEITGENÖSSISCHEN GESCHICHTSVERSTÄNDNISSES. By *Reinhard Wittram*. (Göttingen: Vanderboeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 176. DM 4.80.) These lectures by Reinhard Wittram, delivered a few years ago at Göttingen, constitute an elementary survey of the philosophy of history, a survey prompted "by the convulsion of the German and mid-European world . . . and by the present state of historiography." In expounding his own views he also summarizes the work of other historians, and his lectures illuminate the main currents of historical thought in postwar Germany. His discussion of how the historian deals with the multiplicity of the past, with "the frozen cataract," as he calls it, does not go beyond the traditional injunctions and exhortations. His philosophical position is marked by the familiar contention that the ultimate object of historical study is man and that man is a moral and autonomous being who must be understood and judged accordingly. The historicist method, however, does not furnish the normative categories of judgment, and Wittram harks back to the critique of historicism inaugurated by Meinecke and Troeltsch. Discontent with historicism and its relativistic bias persists, and Wittram anticipates no solution. He postulates the centrality of evil in man and of guilt in history and believes that the rediscovery of evil has destroyed the belief in human progress. Despite his emphasis on the historical interpretation of human existence, Wittram says nothing about depth psychology or the relation of psychological knowledge to historical understanding. He quotes, and bears out, Hermann Hesse's warning "that we know nothing anymore about man, because we have been too much concerned with him, because there is too much material about him, because any kind of anthropology or knowledge about him presupposes a bold willingness to simplify which we can no longer summon." Wittram, an expellee from the *Baltikum*, is also concerned with the historiographical implications of the shift of power in Europe and the world. He pleads for a new world history that would revive Ranke's ideal of a universal history but would transcend it by achieving a perspective no longer narrowly centered on Europe. Wittram's lectures strengthen the impression that the present generation of German historians is quietly replacing or modifying the older nationalistic tradition of German historiography.

Columbia University

FRITZ STERN

ON THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE. By *Henry E. Sigerist*. Edited and with an introduction by *Félix Martí-Ibáñez*. Foreword by *John F. Fulton*. (New York: MD Publications. 1960. Pp. xviii, 313. \$6.75.) Henry E. Sigerist (1891-1957) began his career in Switzerland, occupied the chair of the history of medicine at the University of Leipzig (1925-1932) and at the Johns Hopkins University (1932-1947), then returned to Switzerland, maintaining a formal connection with Yale University as research associate. The present volume unites twenty-seven of his essays skillfully arranged under the headings:

"On Medical History," "Ancient and Medieval Medicine," "Renaissance, Baroque, and Age of Enlightenment Medicine," and "Personal History." Since the selection is said to be largely Sigerist's own choice, it could be considered as Sigerist's view of himself, if only the editor had stated which of the "some other pieces" he had added. As it is, the selection represents chiefly the Baltimore phase of Sigerist's activity. As far as I can see, there is only one essay ("William Harvey's Position in the History of European Thought") that predates Sigerist's coming to America and had to be translated into English. The omission of such a piece as "Die Geburt der abendländischen Medizin," which represents an important step in Sigerist's development, is regrettable, as is the acknowledged omission of illustrations from several of the essays. Sigerist set great store by pictorial material which he chose painstakingly. General historians will enjoy the wide sweep of Sigerist's thought and the clarity of his style. They will, moreover, have an opportunity to see medical history as it appears in its own right rather than as a specialized subdivision of history or an untutored minor occupation of physicians. Those who did not meet him will make the acquaintance of a personality that fascinated by its charm, vitality, and intellectual elegance. But lest they take Sigerist as a *littérateur*, an impression which the introduction tends to enhance, they should be reminded that Sigerist after all was a professor and a scholar who devoted much of his time to learning of a kind that could not always be worn lightly.

Johns Hopkins University

OWSEI TEMKIN

L'HOMME MACHINE: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF AN IDEA. By *La Mettrie*. Critical edition with an introductory monograph and notes by *Aram Vartanian*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. 264. \$6.00.) This edition is a masterful piece of work and a significant contribution to the study of eighteenth-century thought. Dr. Vartanian gives us an impeccable text, illuminated by historical and explanatory notes which are a treasury of pertinent information. The combination of impressive erudition and philosophical acuity make his preliminary study the most valuable. Following a helpful biographical sketch, a definitive essay analyzes the suppositions, meaning, and contribution of *L'Homme machine*. La Mettrie's originality is seen principally in his positivism and in his renovation of the machine hypothesis, which makes the animal, through the concept of irritability, a self-actuating and self-sustaining machine. The book is next related to La Mettrie's other writings and then to the historical background of ideas. In the concluding chapters we follow the critical reaction of La Mettrie's contemporaries and the later fortunes of his ideas. Vartanian illuminates some important aspects of eighteenth-century thought and the history of ideas. In this rich work, then, the meaning, place, and significance of La Mettrie are definitively reevaluated. One can disagree only on particulars. Vartanian properly emphasizes the originality of La Mettrie's positivism and his eschewing of metaphysical "proofs" in an age when such a viewpoint was unusual. But he pushes this too hard. The scientific hypothesis involved and implied a materialistic metaphysics even if it did not attempt to prove it metaphysically. Necessary causality and the identity of organic and psychic phenomena may be advanced as hypotheses, but they are, in La Mettrie, all-inclusive interpretations of reality. He ridicules all others. The pages distinguishing La Mettrie's thought from that of Boerhaave make this quite clear and lead logically to the final quotation: "elle [memory] appartient donc au corps, elle est donc corporelle." There is some apology in this throughout. Vartanian underplays La Mettrie's depreciation of man and his absence of moral idealism, indeed his undercutting of the ground of morality. The eighteenth century was not so optimistic as Vartanian believes, nor did it hold man to be an eminently rational being. La Mettrie did not reach a true theory of organic evolution, nor had Diderot when he wrote *La Lettre sur les aveugles*, for there is no concept of a species having had

a history. I do not recall La Mettrie's ever claiming that men and anthropoid apes had a common origin. Finally, sensationist psychology and physiological psychology do come together on the ground of moral determinism and the reduction of motivation to the pleasure-pain principle.

Western Reserve University

LESTER G. CROCKER

HISTORY OF THE MILLING MACHINE: A STUDY IN TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Robert S. Woodbury*. [Technology Monographs, Historical Series, Number 3.] (Cambridge: Technology Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1960. Pp. 107.) The aim of this interesting monograph, the third in a series, is to point out the historical influence of the milling machine upon production and upon the economy of an industrial society. Within a hundred years milling machines have come to challenge the role of the lathe, one of the basic machine tools of all time. To students of American technology it should be noted that most of the major developments have occurred in the United States, beginning with Eli Whitney. Like Joseph W. Roe, Mr. Woodbury rightly acclaimed Whitney not only as the first designer, but points out that his designs influenced the building of later machines. The author discusses briefly other designers such as Frederick W. Howe, Robertson, Pratt, and Root. He also gives some attention to the work of Joseph R. Brown of the Brown and Sharpe Company for developing the universal milling machine—a machine that marked a milestone in the history of technology. Milling machines came into wide use following the turn of the century, owing chiefly to the automotive industry. The most significant recent development in milling machines has occurred at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where electronic controls, and controls by taped, programed drawings are fed into an electronic control system “which actuates the hydraulic controls of the miller in three dimensions.” The potential uses of the milling machine appear to be unlimited.

Rollins College

JOHN W. OLIVER

THE ETHIOPIANS: AN INTRODUCTION TO COUNTRY AND PEOPLE. By *Edward Ullendorff*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 232. \$4.80.) Professor Ullendorff's scholarly and agreeable book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a fascinating country. Probably no other scholar in the English-speaking world today is better equipped than he to study the ancient civilization of Ethiopia within the framework of Semitic history. His claim to write for the general reader and not the specialist is in the main justified: the exception is the chapter on languages, which the general reader will find stiff going unless armed with a dictionary of philological and phonetic terms. The chapter on religion tends to overemphasize Judaic survivals in the Ethiopian church and overlook its basic oneness with the other ancient churches of Christendom. The monastic life, which strikes the visitor to Ethiopia as a very prominent feature of the native church, owes almost nothing to Judaic influences, nor does the great reverence paid to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the number of whose feasts, incidentally, seems to surprise Ullendorff, though they are not much more numerous than those observed in the Latin Church. Like other modern lovers of Ethiopia, Ullendorff is inclined to view the country through rose-colored spectacles, which is not surprising, since he lived for several years among a people whose delightful manners charm all those with whom they come in contact. The map provided is very inadequate.

South Newington, Oxon, England

VIOLET BARBOUR

GHANA: A HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION. By *J. D. Fage*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 122. \$3.00.) This book, based on lectures de-

livered at the University of Wisconsin, is an introduction to the history of Ghana. There has been no attempt to do other than present the broad outlines of its historical background and its emergence as an independent nation. Mr. Fage presents in four chapters a brief survey of the history of Ghana and of its contacts with Europe and the rest of Africa. A compact summary of the African background points clearly to the historian's belated discovery that "the sources of African history are much richer than many had supposed." A factual report on the progress of the idea of independence for Ghana avoids controversy and shows that the idea had "a long pedigree that can be traced back to the 1830s." Fage seems to deal very lightly with the history of the British conquest of the Ashanti nation, as if to minimize its importance. He does, however, make nineteenth-century British expansion the key to much that happened on the Gold Coast during the period. Fage has succeeded in doing well what he set out to do; it is to be hoped that he will soon write a more extensive book on the same subject. Meanwhile it is evidence of the "new research that has begun to change our whole concept of the African past."

Morehouse College

MELVIN D. KENNEDY

ESSAYS ON JEWISH LIFE AND THOUGHT PRESENTED IN HONOR OF SALO WITTMAYER BARON. Edited by *Joseph L. Blau et al.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xxx, 458. \$7.50.) This is a *Festschrift* presented to Professor Baron by his students on his sixtieth birthday. Apart from a useful bibliography of Baron's own writings and a brief notice of his life, the volume takes the usual form of the species. It assembles a miscellaneous collection of essays which lack a core and which testify to the breadth of interests of the teacher who inspired them. The subject matter ranges from the Babylonian academies to the Nazi regime, and studies in sociology, linguistics, and theology as well as in history are included. With few exceptions, the twenty-six essays contained in this book maintain a high scholarly level. They are not only evidence of the affection of students for their teacher but also useful contributions to scholarship.

Harvard University

OSCAR HANDLIN

Ancient and Medieval

CHEMISTRY AND CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA. By *Martin Levey*. (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company; distrib. by D. Van Nostrand Company, Princeton, N. J. 1959. Pp. xi, 242.) Levey's book is a valuable addition to the very meager literature dealing with the chemical arts in the ancient world, particularly since it draws heavily from contemporary cuneiform tablets and includes the results of analytical studies on Mesopotamian artifacts. The author possesses a rare combination—training in chemistry and a flair for the languages of the ancient Near East—thus making him one of the few living scholars competent to enlighten us on the nature of early chemistry in this part of the world. The book deals first with apparatus and operations, with particular emphasis on the author's findings regarding vessels used for distillation and sublimation. The remainder of the work examines foods and beverages, tanning, fats and oils, waxes, dyes, detergents, perfumes, drugs, chemicals (such as alum, gypsum, salt, and soda), and the metals (silver, gold, copper, and bronze). As is perhaps to be expected in a study of this sort, treatment of the subjects lacks the uniformity and completeness that one might desire, not through any fault of the author, but because of the inadequacy of available source material. In some cases considerable detail is given regarding chemical operations. In others such information is

completely lacking. There is extensive quotation from recipes, inventories, and commercial documents. These, however, represent isolated tablets that have survived and they frequently fail to give much real illumination. This is particularly true in the case of price quotations, since the reader has little understanding of the significance of the price in terms of everyday commodities or in terms of a day's income for a working man. Despite the many handicaps to the scholar in this field, the author has made a valuable contribution toward the illumination of an area that has hitherto been very dark. It is to be hoped that he will continue the exploration of Mesopotamian chemistry and that some years hence we can look forward to a greatly enlarged edition of this book.

University of Wisconsin

AARON IHDE

PHARAONIC POLICIES AND ADMINISTRATION, 663 TO 323 B.C. By *Mary Francis Gyles*. [James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Number 41.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 120. \$2.50.) To my knowledge this is the only monograph in English on the history of Egypt in the Saite and Persian periods. It originated as a doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina under the direction of Professor W. E. Caldwell. Dr. Gyles also studied under the late Professor Henri Frankfort, and a grant from the Belgian-American Foundation enabled her to continue her studies in libraries and museums "in Egypt, Greece, and throughout Europe." The subject is full of problems of many kinds, which are only slowly yielding to scholarly investigation. Many of the most attractive problems probably cannot be solved without more evidence, and it is the fashion of scholars to publish attempted solutions of such problems, sometimes tentatively, sometimes with what seems to me quite unwarranted assurance. Dr. Gyles is well aware of these difficulties and dangers. She has read widely and thoughtfully, she is not afraid to express her own opinions, and she succeeds probably as well as most of us in distinguishing opinion from fact. Her book inevitably suffers by comparison with a much larger and in my opinion much better monograph on the same subject which appeared after she had already devoted a number of years to her task: Friedrich Karl Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953). This was a cruel piece of bad luck for Dr. Gyles. We rejoice that she did not allow it to stop her, and we trust she will continue to devote her obviously active mind to her chosen field.

University of Chicago

WILLIAM F. EDGERTON

ATLAS OF THE CLASSICAL WORLD. By *A. A. M. van der Heyden* and *H. H. Scullard*. (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1959. Pp. 221. \$15.00.) The illustrations, the aerial photographs, the maps are all excellent in this superb book. Not intended primarily for professional scholars, the book does reveal "the value of the achievement of the classical world and of its importance for the world of today." Not an atlas in the narrow sense of the word but a marvelous visual introduction not only to the geography but to the art and architecture of Western ancient civilization, the volume will interest any student, the professional scholar included. The historical text is short but accurate and informed, as are the captions for the illustrations and photographs. One would wish, however, that the editors had attempted to date at least some of the works of art. Every library and many individuals will desire this "Atlas," which contains far more than the title promises.

Washington, D. C.

BCS

GREEK PAINTED POTTERY. By *R. M. Cook*. [Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology.] (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 391. \$12.50.) This handbook ad-

mirably fills a longfelt need of students in the field and of historians eager to broaden their knowledge of the pottery that played as important a part in ancient Greek life as it now plays in the dating of ancient remains. In a field where there are so many special studies and constantly accumulating new material the author was faced with a gigantic task of selection, organization, and compression, with the inevitable result that individual readers will be glad to follow up their special interests in the excellent bibliography. The major part of the book provides a historical and analytical survey of the successive styles of vase decoration (from Protogeometric through black and red figure to relief wares) illustrated by a good selection of plates and figures, which must of course be supplemented by the use of other publications and examination of pottery in museums. Each style is examined in its various manifestations throughout the Greek world, with lines of influence clearly drawn. The second part concentrates on the pottery itself and its study. Chapters on shapes, techniques and material of manufacture, and inscriptions provide a background both for the preceding historical survey and for the following chapters on chronology, the role of pottery in the study of ancient life, and some practical suggestions on the care and handling of pots and potsherds. A final chapter, devoted to the history of the study of vase painting from the Middle Ages to the present, is both fascinating reading and a superb commentary not only on the ancient material but also on the thought of the intervening ages and on modern archaeological theories. A glossary and notes on museums and sites add to the general usefulness of the volume. The writing is somewhat uneven, lapsing occasionally into involuted obscurity or startling colloquialisms, but small mannerisms cannot detract from the author's mastery of his material. Surely this will be the handbook in the field for some time to come.

Bryn Mawr College

MABEL LANG

THE GENERALSHIP OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By J. F. C. Fuller. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. 336. \$7.50.) General Fuller's book is a thrilling general portrayal of Alexander's military career and genius. The emphasis on Alexander as a general is refreshing after the concentration of the last three decades on source studies and short interpretations of Alexander's plans. In such matters Fuller deliberately restricts himself to Tarn, but he is unaware of Tarn's mistakes. Part I, "The Record," can be skipped by those not needing a background summary. In broad historical judgments Fuller is often wrong and occasionally prejudiced (Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* are "summed up as 'Transcendental Bolshevism'"). It is Part II, "The Analysis," that matters. Here we get a detailed presentation of Alexander's great pitched battles, followed by chapters on his sieges, small wars, statesmanship, and generalship. Most of the material for a further examination of the subject has been conveniently assembled, for the strange truth is that Fuller has actually done little to advance our understanding of the details on which reconstructions inevitably rest. Most unfortunately, he does not know J. R. Hamilton's fundamental "The Cavalry Battle at the Hydaspes" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXVI [1956], 26-31). Accordingly, his interpretation of the only critical problem in the battle, Coenus' maneuver, collapses. Moreover, he needlessly gives us an unanswerable question. "How was it possible within a few weeks of his arrival on the Hydaspes for Alexander to collect and construct sufficient river craft to transport 15,000 men and 5,000 horses? Though the number of the vessels is unknown, it must have been enormous." Arrian V, 12, 3, however, shows that more than vessels was involved: "The skins were filled in the night with the hay which had been procured long before." In brief, the total effect of the book is marred by the lack of thorough study. More is needed for the casualties than "realistic" estimates. I once added all the precise figures in Arrian for the eleven years of fighting in Asia and found that,

excepting the drama of Issus, Gaugamela, and the Hydaspes, Alexander's ordinary losses were approximately one-seventieth the enemy's. This is substantially the proportion for the Granicus, where we can also control Arrian's statement concerning Alexander's dead companions, since their statues were erected at Dium. The index, maps, and illustrations of this American edition are an improvement over the English (1958) edition, although it is incorrect to say that the Istanbul sarcophagus is "reputed to be that of Alexander."

Brown University

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

SALLUSTS HISTORISCHE MONOGRAPHIEN: THEMENWAHL UND GESCHICHTSBILD. By *Wolf Steidle*. [*Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte. Einzelschriften, Number 3.*] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1958. Pp. 112. DM 11.) The historian Sallust passed under a cloud in the nineteenth century, but has recently reclaimed much attention. Livy is perhaps too magisterial, too sure of Rome's destiny; Tacitus is a well-worked vein. The subjects, moreover, which dominate Sallust's extant works must appeal to a modern taste, for this critic examined primarily the moral and political upheavals accompanying the expansion of the Roman Empire. The present author has edited Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline* (1949) and refers in his notes to other recent, mostly German, literature. His objective is to show that each Sallustian monograph had a definite theme, which determined the choice of material and development of the subject. Steidle's extensive analysis of the monographs thus has a formal purpose; it is not directed to assess the truth of the picture or to explore Sallust's own point of view, although Steidle tends very strongly to justify Sallust against his modern critics. Some of the discussion is rather obvious. Much of it is quite subjective. But along the way useful comments on republican history will reward the reader. Sallust's specifically Roman orientation which is emphasized here reinforces the picture of Roman historiography recently drawn in Smith's *Failure of the Roman Republic*, and Steidle strongly disagrees with Altheim's recent reiteration of the effort to link Sallust and Posidonius. In the second appendix he argues for Sallustian authorship of the letters to Caesar. There is an index but no bibliography.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

THE MEDIEVAL THEORIES OF THE JUST PRICE: ROMANISTS, CANONISTS, AND THEOLOGIAN IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES. By *John W. Baldwin*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLIX, Part 4.] (Philadelphia: the Society, 1959. Pp. 92. \$2.00.) What is especially valuable and new in this treatise is consideration of the theories of the just price from the three viewpoints of Romanists, canonists, and theologians. This larger perspective and the emphasis on similarities and differences in these viewpoints reveal that the older treatments of the subject were much oversimplified. When the lawyers, whether Roman or canon, apply the general principle of justice specifically to usury, laws of sale, fraud, and remedies for buyer and seller, the problem becomes complex and highly technical. Besides, the theories changed somewhat from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. There is no space here to repeat the detailed and systematic exposition of the subject. Every student of the Middle Ages ought to read the treatise carefully and ponder well the evidence and conclusions. Perhaps the whole picture could have been made even clearer by some references to actual practices in business. The treatise begins with the legacy of antiquity—Aristotle, the Church fathers, and Roman law—and ends with St. Thomas Aquinas. It has two appendixes: one on the question of money in the determination of prices, and the other biographical notes on authors. A bibliography containing manuscript sources, printed sources, and secondary

studies is also included. Baldwin acknowledges helpful advice of American specialists such as Kuttner, Lane, De Roover, and Painter as well as that of several French authorities. All medievalists are greatly indebted to Baldwin for this clearly printed and most informative treatise.

Brooklyn College

IRVING W. RAYMOND

MODERNUS UND ANDERE ZEITBEGRIFFE DES MITTELALTERS. By Walter Freund. [Neue Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, Number 4.] (Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1957. Pp. viii, 114. DM 8.80.) Understandably enough, men in the Middle Ages could not know that they were medieval; they considered themselves to be quite modern. They sensed, of course, the difference between their society and the civilization described in the literature of the Greco-Roman world. But where and how did they distinguish their own from another time? To answer these questions Freund reports principally on the concepts of time in the literature of two periods: the fifth and sixth centuries and the twelfth century. He begins with an analysis of the usage of Pope Gelasius I, Orosius, Symmachus, and Cassiodorus. Then a rapid transition by way of Bede, Thietmar of Merseburg, Peter Damian, and the Investiture Controversy brings the author to his principal subject, John of Salisbury. Also within the twelfth century, Freund deals with William of Malmesbury, Walter Map, Suger of St. Denis, and some of the early Scholastics. He does not reexamine the thirteenth-century Scholastics, but wisely summarizes the excellent study by M. D. Chenu ("Antiqui-Moderni," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, XVII [1928], 82-94). What Chenu accomplished so well for the Scholastic usage of a single word pair Freund undertakes for a longer period and for a much larger variety of concepts. Chenu had demonstrated that for the schoolmen the designation "the ancients" (*antiqui*) might have various meanings: Greco-Roman writers before Christ; Church fathers of the late Roman Empire; the faithful of the old covenant, before the Christian revelation; men such as Boethius, in contrast to more recent figures such as Abelard; and writers of the period immediately preceding Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus. Freund's investigation has value for any student of medieval Latin materials. While examining the specific information presented about several men of letters, a reader learns where to expect shifts in meaning that may trap the unwary. Hereafter I will approach cautiously such terms as *modernus*, *tempora nostra*, *antiqui*, *moderni*, *praesens*, *contemporaneus*, *antiquitas*, and *vetus traditio*. But this book is more than a collection of terms and examples of their usage; it discusses with careful discrimination the time concepts of many men of letters. Historians, however, should note that the author has no concern with formal historiography. Consequently the reader who hopes to find herein descriptions of time schemes and historic periods employed by medieval chroniclers will be disappointed.

Indiana University

ARTHUR R. HOGUE

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES. By Theodor E. Mommsen. Edited by Eugene F. Rice, Jr. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 353. \$5.75.) This volume brings together all of the important published articles and one previously unpublished paper by the late Theodor Mommsen. The collection is introduced by a tribute written by Professor Marcham of Cornell University where Mommsen served as professor of medieval history during the last four years of his life. There is appended a bibliography of Mommsen's writings including all his reviews. The essays thus assembled from many different sources fall into three categories determined to some extent by date and subject matter. The first group is primarily political and diplomatic and represents the work of the author's earlier years. It includes

a study of the Hapsburg-Angevin marriage alliance of 1316, an essay on Castruccio Castacani's relation to the Empire, an analysis of an unpublished bull of Julius II of 1512, and an article on the Venetians in Athens in 1687. The second and most numerous group is concerned with studies on Petrarch. Here we have Mommsen's sensitive introduction to the *Sonnets and Songs*, and essays on Petrarch's iconography, on his periodization of history, on the decoration of the palace at Carrara after his *De Viris Illustribus*, on Petrarch's discussion of the choice of Hercules, on his last will, and on Agricola's *Life of Petrarch*. The last group is the result of Mommsen's most recent interest, early Christian historiography. It includes articles on St. Augustine and Orosius and offers a particularly original and convincing interpretation of the thought of Orosius and its relation to that of Augustine. These essays reveal the precision and range of Mommsen's scholarship, his sensitivity to literature and art, his powers of analysis, extending from the explication of a diplomatic document to the exposition of the concepts of intellectual history in the essays on Augustine. Since these articles are widely scattered, many of them in works not readily available, their collection in this volume is both a fitting memorial to their author and a benefit to all students of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Harvard University

MYRON P. GILMORE

MEDIEVAL TRADE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD: ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES. By *Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond*. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number 52.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 458. \$6.75.) This volume of original documents concerning medieval trade in the Mediterranean represents a valuable addition to our scholarly knowledge of the subject. The more than two hundred selections, some three-quarters of them of Italian origin, have been carefully translated with adequate introductions and footnotes. They deal with a variety of subjects such as the revival of commerce, the growth of markets, a merchant class and various means of exchange, forms of commercial contracts and investments, problems of transportation, insurance, litigation, business failures, and barriers to trade, and give us examples of merchant manuals, business correspondence, and business advice. The reader will find the selections and accompanying notes and explanations a valuable introduction to the subject of medieval commerce and the bibliography very useful. Of particular interest are those sections dealing with various forms of business contracts and the examples of commercial manuals and accounting methods which illuminate their subject admirably. Less successful are documents concerning early trade, markets, a merchant class, and transportation by land and sea. This is hardly the editors' fault. There are insufficient materials available concerning early commerce, and the other subjects are too complex to be covered within the limits of such a book. All one can do is give some suggestive examples which the editors have done. The fact that such a large percentage of the documents are Italian is a positive advantage. For though this gives a somewhat unbalanced view of the Mediterranean as a whole, the Italians were so much in advance of their Western European contemporaries that an examination of their business methods gives a view in depth that leads to greater precision and understanding of medieval commercial matters. Lopez and Raymond are to be congratulated on a job well done.

University of Texas

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

THE CONVERSION OF THE SLOVENES AND THE GERMAN-SLAV ETHNIC BOUNDARY IN THE EASTERN ALPS. By *Aloysius L. Kuhar*. [Studia Slovenica, Number 2.] (New York: League of CSA. 1959. Pp. xi, 231. \$5.00.) It is indeed

fortunate that this first comprehensive and well-documented study in English on the inclusion of the Slovenes into Occidental civilization was written by a man of intellectual power, the late Aloysius Kuhar (1895-1958). Dealing with problems on which Slav and German historians have frequently diverged, he consistently seeks credible solutions, binding often widely scattered fragments into a meaningful and lucidly presented whole. The Christianization of the Slovenes originated from three bases: the Germanic in Bavaria, the Italian in Aquileia, and the Slavonic in Pannonia. To the latter the Slovenes lent their enthusiastic support, but the Magyar invasion entirely destroyed the center of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. In Karantania the Irish Columbanic missions from Bavaria were at the beginning of Charlemagne's reign replaced by Germanic missionaries, to whom the Slovenes north of the Drava had to pay for conversion with the loss of their ethnic identity. South of the Drava, in the region under the jurisdiction of the Aquileian patriarchate, the missionary activity did not interfere with the language of the people, involved no colonization, and was slower in progress, but peaceful and humane. For the present-day historian, Kuhar's study is significant because between the Danube and the Gulf of Trieste "so long ago history was shaped with such intensity that historic developments in our own time still bear unmistakably the mark of events that took place over a thousand years ago."

*Northern State Teachers College
Aberdeen, South Dakota*

TOUSSAINT HOČEVAR

KARAITES IN BYZANTIUM: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 970-1100. By Zvi Ankori. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 597.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 546. \$10.00.) Throughout its long history the Byzantine Empire included numerous groups of different ethnic origins. Some of these groups are no more than names, and although others are known somewhat better, in no case is the information really ample. Still, systematic studies of some of these groups are possible, and as such studies may go far in elucidating the nature and structure of Byzantine society, they may be important contributions to general history. The Jews constitute one of the minority groups in Byzantium that have already been studied. Andreades, Dölger, and Joshua Starr have devoted important studies to this element of the population. Starr, dealing with Byzantine Jewry in general, collected virtually every bit of information relating to them. Now Ankori, without ignoring the Byzantine Jew in general, deals especially with one section of them, the sectarian group of the Karaites. His book may be divided into two parts. The first is devoted to the origin, geographical extent, economic activity, and numerical strength of the Karaites and the Jews in general in Byzantium. The second deals with the polemics of the Karaites against what the author calls Rabbanite Jewry, their spiritual inspirations, intellectual activities, and literary accomplishments. Ankori has succeeded in adding some information to that accumulated by Starr regarding the geographical distribution of Byzantine Jewry, but his estimates of their numerical strength, both Rabbanite and Karaite, is in my opinion far too high. Ankori quotes with approval, as against Starr's caution, a statement of Elisha bar Shinaya of Nisibis to the effect that the Jew in Byzantium "may say, 'I am a Jew.' He may adhere to his religion and recite his prayers. No one throws it up to him, restrains him or puts any difficulties in his way." Orthodoxy was of course the state religion in Byzantium, and periodically there were persecutions against minority groups, but on the whole these groups were left alone. The Jews were no exception. Ankori's treatment of his subject is such that anyone reading his book will learn not only about the state of the Jews in Byzantium in general and the Karaites in particular but also about the social structure of the Byzantine Empire.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

THE MURDER OF CHARLES THE GOOD, COUNT OF FLANDERS. By *Galbert of Bruges*. Translated with an introduction and notes by *James Bruce Ross*. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number 61.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 352. \$6.75.) Since 1891 when Henri Pirenne published a definitive edition of *The Murder of Charles the Good* by the Brugeois notary Galbert, Belgian medievalists have used this fine source in their study of the dynamic social, economic, and institutional history that was the trade-mark of the county of Flanders in the twelfth century. Although there were three faulty French translations done in the first half of the nineteenth century from unreliable editions, this translation by Miss Ross is the first in English and is enhanced by a scholarly introduction, notes, genealogical tables, and an archaeological note on twelfth-century Bruges. Miss Ross has not only scored a "first" in her remarkably accurate, sensitive, and readable translation, but she has also rendered an inestimable service by introducing to an English audience a major narrative source of the Middle Ages hitherto unknown except to a small circle of scholars. Typical of the able line of counts who, since Baldwin Iron Arm, had relentlessly hammered out the strong feudal state of Flanders, Charles the Good (1119-1127) became too zealous in pushing his program for strong central government and political stability. Fearful of losing its feudal perquisites and numerous political offices, the powerful Erembald clan under the leadership of Bertulf, chancellor of Flanders and provost of Saint Donatian at Bruges, conspired with other dissident nobles and murdered Count Charles on March 2, 1127, as he knelt in prayer at Saint Donatian. An eyewitness to most of what he recounts, Galbert catches the drama of this murder and then, in the manner of a correspondent, reports the brutal punishment of the conspirators and the struggle between William Clito of Normandy and Thierry of Alsace for the countship. But the principal value of Galbert's account lies in the information presented on internal and external Flemish feudal relations, on the significant social, economic, legal, and political concessions won during the civil war by the great Flemish communes, and on the formation of various broad political associations of nobles, bourgeois inhabitants, and free peasants which suggests the existence of a political consciousness that transcended traditional class divisions and contributed to an attitude of "community of the county." This account is a prime source on the Middle Ages. From Galbert of Bruges comes the paradoxical picture of a feudal state organized so efficiently that there could develop early the nonfeudal institutions and mentality that put feudalism to rout in Flanders by the end of the twelfth century.

University of California, Berkeley

BRYCE LYON

THE UNIVERSITY OF TOULOUSE IN THE MIDDLE AGES: ITS ORIGINS AND GROWTH TO 1500 A.D. By *Cyril Eugene Smith*. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 244. \$7.00.) As the author states, the present volume deals only with the origin and "external" history of the University of Toulouse to 1500; a second volume is planned which will analyze "aspects of its constitutional growth and the organization and administration of its collegiate institutions." Thus it would not be fair to judge this volume as self-sufficient. But it must be admitted that without a sufficient knowledge of the constitutional and human problems involved this "external" history will appear as a rather meaningless and boring series of historical data. And the intellectual aspects, which after all are the basis of any university, are, as a rule, overlooked. The author is careful to explain that his work rests on research undertaken in 1926 and 1927. Since that time, however, he has made no effort to keep up with studies concerning Toulouse and its university. Thus he does not seem to be acquainted with the important publication *Responsa doctorum Tolosanorum* by E. M. Meijers (Haarlem, 1938) and with a series of articles (all dealing with the university) by E.

Delaruelle, R. Corraze, and M. Meusnier, not to mention various works which do not primarily deal with the university, but where he would have found much information. How can an author writing in 1958 say that in 1926-1927 Series D of the Departmental Archives of the Haute-Garonne (university and colleges) was in the process of reclassification and that therefore he "was unable to consult it"? Various works published since 1927 used documents belonging to this series, among others the account books of the College of Périgord, the study of which is necessary for any description of collegiate life in Toulouse. From these works the author would also have found what an invaluable source the notarial archives of Toulouse are for his subject. Much else might be said. Many place names, for instance, have not been identified. The volume does not answer the need for a good history of the University of Toulouse.

Université de Toulouse

PHILIPPE WOLFF

ST. EDMUND OF ABINGDON: A STUDY IN HAGIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY. By C. H. Lawrence. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 339. \$9.60.) Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury from 1233 to 1240, canonized in 1246, here receives definitive biographical treatment. Surely the principal source materials have been analyzed and compared by a master hand. Three are printed *in extenso*: the so-called *Quadrilogus* (depositions concerning the life of St. Edmund by four members of his *familia*); the earliest biography of St. Edmund, here identified for the first time as the work of Eustace of Faversham; and the *Vita S. Edmundi* by Matthew Paris (the first critical edition of the only extant complete hagiographical work by this author, here demonstrated to have been based on the *Vita* by Eustace and to have been translated by Matthew Paris subsequently into Anglo-Norman verse). Lawrence has painstakingly indicated the additions, hagiographical, historical, and prejudicial, made by Matthew Paris to this text by Eustace upon which he mainly relied. Lawrence has also constructed a notable comparative synopsis of the contents of six extant lives of St. Edmund, including those by Eustace and Matthew Paris. Appendixes print the letters of postulation submitted to the pope by Oxford University and by various English bishops and abbots in the years 1241-1243, the *acta* of St. Edmund, documents relating to his *familia*, and a list of the documents concerning his canonization now preserved in the archives of Sens Cathedral. The work is notable for its information on thirteenth-century canonization procedures and for additional and often illuminating details of the career of St. Edmund, both on the historical and the ecclesiastical sides of his activities. Contrary to the older view, it now seems certain that on his last journey the archbishop was on his way to Rome for consultation and not leaving England in despair. Although the strictly biographical material in this volume is relatively slight, running to only seventy-nine pages, the author has presented a fairly clear picture of one of England's most popular saints. Lawrence asserts that St. Edmund was a stronger and a greater man than the hagiographical tradition would have us believe. Primarily an ascetic and a master of the spiritual life, "he appealed to the popular imagination because he satisfied the profound conviction of simple people that those who ruled the Church should be learned, humble, and holy men."

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

HISTORY OF EGYPT, 1382-1469 A.D.: TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC ANNALS OF ABU L-MAHĀSIN IBN TAGHRĪ BIRDĪ. Part V, 1438-1453 A.D. By William Popper. [University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Volume XIX.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 246. \$5.00.) The period of Mameluke history dealt with in the fifth volume of Popper's translation found the reporting historian in the prime of life. Practically all the persons mentioned in his

work were known to him, many of them intimately. The opinions he expresses about them and their activities are forceful and straightforward. One of the sons of the then ruler of Egypt, al-Malik az-Zâhir Jaqmaq (Čaqmaq), was married to the favorite niece of the author. His high opinion of Jaqmaq seems largely justified. Jaqmaq's morals are described as beyond reproach in every respect. Whether his occasional severity was due to the influence of his subordinates as the author wants us to believe is hard to say. He proved able to control the turbulent factions, however, and even made peaceful and, for a brief moment, seemingly successful arrangements for his succession shortly before his death. His relations with other Moslem rulers, among them Shâh Rukh b. Tîmûr, were correct. Of his limited dealings with non-Moslems, the expeditions he sent out against Rhodes deserve notice. But the author rarely looks beyond the borders of his own environment. Rather disappointingly, when enumerating at the beginning the names of the rulers contemporary with Jaqmaq, he merely says that in the land of the Franks, there are "sixteen kingdoms, to explain the names of which would take too long." The writing of the work was originally planned for the son of Jaqmaq, who died before his father. Ibn Taghrî Birdî treated the same period in a more detailed work. This work is also preserved and has been partly edited by Popper. For the present translation, Popper has consulted the available manuscripts and occasionally refers to variations between the two works. The custom of writing several works on the same period was not uncommon among Moslem historians. Often the purpose was to make both detailed and brief editions available, but we also frequently find that the wish to present the historical material from different points of view was responsible. One or two more volumes will be needed to bring Popper's great work to a successful conclusion.

Yale University

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

Modern

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

VALLEY ON THE MARCH: A HISTORY OF A GROUP OF MANORS ON THE HEREFORDSHIRE MARCH OF WALES. By *Lord Rennell of Rodd*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 297. \$6.75.) This book is a volume of local history dealing with the Hindwell Valley, a valley that runs into England across Offa's Dyke on the Middle March of Wales. After an introductory chapter on the geology and physiography of the area and their influence on the agricultural use of the land, Lord Rennell covers the history of the manors and the genealogy of the leading families from Roman times through the seventeenth century, with the bulk of the book dealing with the Middle Ages and the Tudor period. The author's purpose is a modest one: to write, as one who has "the advantage of close association with land and lore," a local history in relation to geography and topography which can serve as a source of information for historians who "paint on a wider canvas." The volume's chief contribution comes from the intimate knowledge that the author has of the area and from the fact that he understands farming in general and the farming of these lands in particular. His chapter on tracks and fields, well illustrated with photographs, maps, and diagrams of the fields of individual manors, is the most interesting and valuable. It is clear that the student of manorial field systems should study the land as well as the documents. Also of interest is the large number of land transactions, increasing from the middle of the sixteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century, which indicate the purchase of land as a good investment or for purposes of speculation. Since such investment would seem to indicate agrarian prosperity, one is not surprised to learn that after

a thousand years of cultivation these lands are more fertile today than ever before. A chapter on the Church notes the slight effect of the dissolution of the monasteries on the everyday lives of the people and gives other information of value for the ecclesiastical historian. On the other hand, the pages devoted to genealogical detail become monotonous and seem to be of little more than local interest. The author writes well and has made extensive use of documentary material. The volume is beautifully illustrated, contains excellent maps and diagrams of fields, and four genealogical tables, and it is well indexed.

Western College for Women

ISABEL R. ABBOTT

THE SIR THOMAS MORE CIRCLE: A PROGRAM OF IDEAS AND THEIR IMPACT ON SECULAR DRAMA. By *Pearl Hogrefe*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 360. \$5.75.) In this book Miss Hogrefe sets out to collect and classify the humanists' "whole program for the regeneration of society . . . based upon a breadth of view and a refining influence from the classics and upon applying the essentials of Christianity" and to show how these ideas were reflected in the secular drama of the early Tudor period, chiefly in the productions of Henry Medwall, John Rastell, and John Heywood. Properly developed and adequately documented, this study could have been an important supplement to Caspari's *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England* and to our knowledge of the relations among ideas, art, and society during the period. Unfortunately, however, the book is unsatisfactory in its organization and elementary in its conclusions. To begin with, Miss Hogrefe divides her material into two parts: "Ideas: The Program of Reform" and "The Impact of Their Ideas on Secular Drama." In each of these parts she divides the material into chapters, on nature and the law of nature, the bases of true nobility, religious reform, law and government, education in general, and the education of women. Theoretically we ought to be able to read the book as a work of elementary reference, but the divisions are highly arbitrary and are agglomerative rather than analytical. The points of impact are usually so obvious or so minor that there is little reason to isolate them in this way. The material on John Rastell's practical and theoretical interest in geography is an exception. Though based for the most part on secondary sources, it is thoroughly and informatively presented. Heavy organization shows an inability to control what are admittedly diverse and sometimes delusively ironic documents and a failure to think through the subject in general. The "More circle," for example, is never properly defined. Having some difficulty in coordinating various definitions of humanism, Miss Hogrefe decides "to consider More and his friends as a group of men working together in England, about 1500 to 1535, and to include Erasmus and Vives, since each lived for some time in England." But the influence of continental humanism is not made clear. In spite of these serious shortcomings, the book contains a useful collection of material, particularly on educational theory, and can be used with caution as an introduction to a very complex body of ideas and attitudes.

University of Toronto

MILLAR MACLURE

PROGRESS AND PROFITS IN BRITISH ECONOMIC THOUGHT, 1650-1850. By *G. S. L. Tucker*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 205. \$5.00.) Keynes's *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* discusses the effect of economic progress on the rate of profit and the theory that the marginal efficiency of capital tends to diminish as capital accumulates. G. S. L. Tucker of the University of Melbourne had the idea of looking at the work of earlier British economists to see what they had to say on these matters. His book is a careful, scholarly monograph, describing the evolution of a limited range of problems in the history of economic theory. By looking at classical economic thought

through Keynesian eyes, he illuminates that thought and provides some historical background for Keynesian theory. Beginning with a controversy about legal rates of interest in the seventeenth century, British economic writers had developed, by 1850, a sophisticated, subtle, quasi-scientific theory of capitalist development similar in many instances to that of Keynes. Tucker has uncovered one forgotten mid-nineteenth-century writer, John Lalor, whose anticipations of Keynes are especially striking. This book is, apparently, a Cambridge University dissertation, with all the characteristics that British reviewers are wont to bewail in American Ph.D. theses: elaborate footnotes, an exhaustive bibliography divided into "primary" and "secondary" sources, and the usual infelicity and jejuneness of expression. Occasionally the author reflects on the nature of economic theorizing—its autonomous growth, its connection with noneconomic thought and with practical interests and problems. But in the main this is a technical monograph for the specialist in economic theory. Tucker intended originally to continue his history to the present, "Concluding with a summary of recent trends in Keynesian Economics. . . . No doubt a discussion of the development of theory during the last hundred years would have given more point to the study as a whole, but perhaps this omission can be repaired at a later time." Would it not have been better to defer publication until that later time?

Rutgers University

RICHARD SCHLATTER

THE CAMPDEN WONDER. Edited by *George Clark*. With chapters by *Viscount Maugham* and *D. Russell Davis*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. 155. \$2.90.) This volume is both a detective story and a demonstration of how historical research can unravel lies about a crime. On August 16, 1660, William Harrison, steward to Julian, the dowager Lady Campden, left his house in Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, to collect rents from outlying tenants. He did not return. Suspicion fell upon his servant John Perry who, after telling various tales, accused his brother, Richard Perry, and his mother, Joan Perry, of murdering Harrison. No corpse was discovered, yet all three Perrys were hanged. Two years later William Harrison reappeared in Chipping Campden with an incredible tale that he had been sold into slavery among the Turks. This story has caught the attention of many persons. In the present volume Sir George Clark edits an early account of the mystery, presents new evidence, and prints four essays suggesting solutions, two written some time ago (by John Paget, a lawyer, and by Andrew Lang), and two written for this volume by the late Viscount Maugham, a former Lord Chancellor, and by Dr. D. Russell Davis, a medical psychologist. Sir George has produced a fascinating little book in which we see the historian at work, separating truth from superstition, falsehood, and conjecture.

University of Minnesota

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE. Volume II, JULY 1768–JUNE 1774. Edited by *Lucy S. Sutherland*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 566. \$12.00.) The second volume of Burke correspondence maintains the high standard of the first. Included are all the letters written by Burke (and a representative selection of letters written to him) between July 1768 and June 1774, edited by Lucy S. Sutherland. Miss Sutherland comments especially well on the intricacies of London politics and East India Company business. Many readers will watch the development of the John Wilkes affair and the genesis of the American Revolution, and they will not be disappointed. In fact Burke was involved in practically all political matters for it was during this period that he fully entered the political world. Because the range of Burke's opinions was so wide, many readers only tangentially interested in him will want to consult this volume. Notes identify personages, explain allusions, and place

the letters in their proper contexts. Ample cross reference lead from one letter to another. Much of the information in the book can be found nowhere else in print. The volume is not simply a reference book; it can be read through with enjoyment. This is a tribute to the annotation and to the judicious selection of a number of letters to Burke and of a few from other correspondences, which reveal the sense of what Burke says in his own letters and give the proper chronology to the series. As more details of his life emerge, Burke begins to come into focus. In a fine introduction Miss Sutherland characterizes Burke clearly, and an impressive appendix illuminates his baffling financial affairs. As the series proceeds, Burke will become better known and far better understood.

Emory University

WALTER D. LOVE

ROBERT SOUTHEY AND HIS AGE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSERVATIVE MIND. By *Geoffrey Carnall*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 233. \$4.80.) Robert Southey was born in 1774 as the American crisis was developing and died in 1843. He was a prolific writer, journalist, biographer, and poet, becoming laureate in 1813. His biographies of Nelson, Cowper, and Wesley still find readers, though scarcely anyone now reads his poetry. He is entirely eclipsed by such friends as Wordsworth and Coleridge whose superiority he by no means realized in his lifetime. The recent revival of interest evidenced by Jack Simmons' brilliant biography, editions by Adolfo Cabral of *A Residence in Portugal* and a *Visit to France*, and Carnall's present study of the development of Southey's conservatism would not have surprised Southey, but it will hardly induce new readers to seek out his epics. Carnall traces Southey's ideological progress from the Jacobinism of the Godwin variety esteemed by the Pantisocrats of 1794 to a sober Toryism induced by the terrors of the Napoleonic War, increasing as the years wore on to something like apostasy even to those good causes of a non-political nature earlier championed. It is true that Southey continued to favor an amelioration of the hardships of the working classes. He also supported Shaftesbury's factory acts, an absentee tax in Ireland, and a general humanitarianism. Yet he advocated a "strait-waistcoat" to repress lower-class disturbances, opposed any change in the balance of political power or social structure, and entirely reversed himself in the matter of law reform as expounded by Sir Samuel Romilly and partially implemented by his patron, Sir Robert Peel. He was kindly, but failed to comprehend the mentality of those among the laboring poor for whom he expressed good will. Southey is treated fairly here. His timidity and fright and his attempts at withdrawal from the tumultuous events of the times are described with scrupulous sympathy. Carnall illuminates the historical environment of the poet's lifetime. The portrait that emerges is, nevertheless, of a rather repellent, cowardly figure with few of those flashes of genius or humanity that might make us love him. Carnall has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of Southey and of the romantic period in which his conservatism developed.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

JONATHAN DUNCAN AND VARANASI. By *V. A. Narain*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1959. Pp. ii, 240. Rs. 12.50.) Dr. Vishnu Narain's monograph is the first scholarly study of the life and early labors of one of the great unsung architects of British rule in India, Jonathan Duncan. Concentrating on the era of Duncan's residency at Benares (Vārāṇasī) from 1787 to 1795, Narain deals in detail with the social history of this vital center of Hindu culture and North Indian commerce as a backdrop to Duncan's administrative reforms. Of special interest to the student of economic history is the comprehensive analysis of Duncan's revenue policy, which culminated in the introduction of a permanent settlement at Benares in 1795. The chapter on "Duncan

and Indian Society" illuminates the multifaceted interests of this amateur scholar of Indian culture, who was not only a founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the father of Benares' Hindu College, but is also credited with having rediscovered the significance of Sarnath as a sacred Buddhist shrine. Though generally thought of as a "Cornwallis man" because of that proconsul's unfailing faith in his talents, Duncan's erudition and sympathy for the people among whom his lot was cast earned him the adulatory sobriquet of "Brahminised Briton." A thorough bibliography and helpful glossary complete this valuable vignette of historical biography.

University of California, Los Angeles

STANLEY A. WOLPERT

TRAFALGAR. By *Oliver Warner*. [British Battles Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 184. \$4.50.) The many books on recent military history have given readers a new appetite for fresh accounts of earlier military action. The new British Battles Series, as represented by *Trafalgar*, might be described as consisting of popular histories for the experienced military reader. They are being profusely illustrated, both by pictures and by quotations from participants' accounts, and such illustrations provide much of what is new in Mr. Warner's book. Another volume of the series, on the capture of Quebec, has also been published recently, and others to follow will deal with Waterloo, the defeat of the Armada, and similar events of persistent interest. Warner has previously contributed both a biography and a bibliography of Lord Nelson, and both history and the author's natural predilection make Nelson very much the hero of this book. He follows Nelson through the preceding campaign and then describes the setting for the battle in detail. Trafalgar was just the sort of pell-mell encounter that Nelson had so fervently desired. His double-barreled assault at the center of the enemy line broke the back of French and Spanish sea power and insured the maritime supremacy of the British until the present century. Contemporary testimony about Nelson's dying hours is given in detail, but the action of the ships is not always so easy to follow. The appended dispatch of Lord Collingwood and order of battle and casualty lists of the two fleets help to clarify the picture. Brief concluding chapters relate the battle's aftermath and assess its import. Throughout the author gives fair attention and praise to the enemy as well as to his other countrymen. But his heart is with Nelson, and his work is more likely to rekindle memories of past glory than of the costs of war.

Department of the Army

STETSON CONN

THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS. By *William D. Grampp*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 155. \$4.00.) In a commendably concise and unpretentious volume, Mr. Grampp tries to bridge a gap that has been yawning at historians of economics these ten decades and more. The Manchester movement has been neglected over the years and conventional ideas have developed around it. It has come to be identified physically with a few Manchester businessmen, demagogically with Cobden and Bright, intellectually with a vulgarized version of Ricardo, and ideologically with free trade and "laissez faire." Grampp does not pretend to bring up new matters. He does, however, make a charge against some of these stereotypes. The charge is useful and refreshing, though at times it comes dangerously near to tilting at windmills. For when all is said, the Manchester "school" still remains a modest contributor to economic thought. Grampp brings out the heterogeneous composition of the movement, the multiplicity of motives (self-interest being one, and apparently not the most important) behind the cohesive force of corn law repeal, and the lack of close correspondence between the ideas of the classical economists and those of the Manchester "school." Nothing is said about the part played by the non-Ricardian majority of economists (Bailey, Ramsay, Longfield, Craig, Lloyd), while Smith and Ricardo

emerge from the interesting and controversial second chapter as the unwitting suppliers of intellectual ammunition to the protectionist camp. That the classical economists were not unqualified free traders is something substantially less than a discovery; the question arises whether in the course of disproving the alleged influence of the classicists on the Manchester people, Grampp has not overstressed the point. The conclusion that "Ricardian economics supplied only one useful idea to the free traders—that free trade does not weaken a nation's power" is hard to swallow, and the pacifism of Cobden runs through the classical theory of international trade in spite of Smith's reservations on defense versus opulence. Other aspects of Grampp's charge include the dissociation of the advocacy of free trade from the notion of "laissez faire"; the Manchester "school," it is argued, never enunciated a coherent policy with respect to the latter. In all, the work is readable, informative, and provocative. Where it does not unseat established ideas, it at least encourages the taking of a long second look.

Pennsylvania State University

JAN S. PRYBYLA

FLUCTUATIONS IN TRADE, INDUSTRY AND FINANCE: A STUDY OF BRITISH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1850-1860. By J. R. T. Hughes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 344. \$7.20.) Mr. Hughes has chosen to analyze the economic history of Great Britain in the years 1850 to 1860. It is a happy choice, for this was the decade in which the country emerged as a predominantly industrial nation. After the years of depression and relatively slow growth of the 1840's, British industry expanded rapidly. The author explains this by pointing to the significant inflationary trend caused not only by the expenditures of the British government during the Crimean War, but also by the discovery of gold in America and Australia. Thus within Britain there was a "booming capital market" with a sharp increase in consumer demand facilitating the expansion of industry. Abroad the situation was not dissimilar. Relative political stability encouraged British investment. British industry's increased need for raw materials was accompanied by a rising demand for British products. As this demand increased, so too did the rate of growth of British industry. To evaluate the significance of this industrial expansion, Hughes has carefully studied several specific British industries, emphasizing not only their rates of growth, but the relationships between growth and trade cycles. Not surprisingly he begins with the cotton textile industry. Hughes makes an important contribution to the decade's history when he demonstrates that "the largest industry in Britain did not experience the fluctuations that correspond to the commonly expected pattern of the trade cycle in the 1850's." He finds only 1857 a trough year. The author's findings within the woolen industry are similar, except here he finds also a startling increase in mechanization. A rapid recovery from the depression did not, however, apply to all British industry. Iron, coal, and shipbuilding did not fully recover until the 1860's. A second contribution is a close analysis of the financial history of the decade, particularly of the sharp depression of 1857. Although somewhat critical of the Bank Act of 1844, the author quite justly points to the confidence that the act inspired in the notes of the Bank of England. He further argues that this act laid the foundation for the rapid recovery of 1858. Because of a paucity of source material, the author does not treat fully agriculture or building construction. The absence of a bibliography is to be regretted, but this is a small point. This book is rich in information, conveying to the reader the spirit as well as the detail of a growing, self-confident British industry. Monographs of this sort, carefully describing a very limited period, are essential to an understanding of economic history, and this work constitutes far more than a mere addendum to the magistral work of Gayer, Rostow, and Schwartz.

University of South Carolina

CHARLES W. COOLIDGE

QUEEN MARY, 1867-1953. By *James Pope-Hennessy*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1960. Pp. xiii, 654, xii. \$10.00.) This massive biography has been justly praised in Britain and the United States as a detailed, absorbing, and intelligent portrayal of George V's consort. The volume itself is something of a publishing phenomenon: its author traveled the length of Europe visiting scenes associated with his subject at the expense of a British newspaper which was eventually due to print extracts of the work, and long before its completion a leading United States woman's magazine had arranged to give it impressive illustrated coverage. All this, and its remarkable sales, again emphasizes the seemingly unending public curiosity on both sides of the Atlantic about the British royal house. Of particular interest to the serious student is the author's feeling for the Victorian and Edwardian setting of Princess Mary's formative years and his description of the vanished world of European royalty, all living like fighting cocks, which the House of Windsor survived. In this connection one notes how timely for the English crown was the death of Prince Eddy, the gay and unstable weakling due to succeed Edward VII and his replacement in the royal line, and in the major affection of his fiancée, by his dutiful if unimaginative younger brother George. In the modern tradition of court biographer Mr. Pope-Hennessy was allowed full access to family papers and, apart from his own good taste, little censorship is evident. But it is obvious that in his view even the commonplace activities and utterances of royalty have unique merit and in the lengthy story of Princess and Queen the incisiveness of his work on Milnes and Crewe is missed. The sly wit with which he exposes the foibles as well as the virtues of the "royals," however, prevents the narrative from cloying. At times there are tantalizing half-revelations. But the volume adds considerably to our knowledge of Queen Victoria's euphoria in her later years, frankly assesses the character of her son Edward VII and, in dealing with the abdication crisis of 1936, it clearly shows the almost total failure of George V and his Queen as understanding parents.

University of South Carolina

GEORGE CURRY

LORD LOTHIAN (PHILIP KERR), 1882-1940. By *J. R. M. Butler*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 384. \$10.00.) This authorized biography of Lord Lothian is based largely on manuscript materials including Lothian's own papers, many private letters provided by his associates, the Milner Papers at New College (used only scantily), some of the Round Table papers (here used for historical research for the first time), materials from the Rhodes Trust (including Frank Aydelotte's files), and a collection of biographical materials gathered by H. V. Hodson and kept at the Round Table office. The book provides an adequate summary of these materials, set in the historical framework and interpreted in a generally favorable way, except for some severe criticism of Lothian's support of appeasement. Lothian's public life was so brief that it hardly seems to justify a volume of 384 pages, although the last year was of great significance and is very well handled here. Of his private life we are given little except for an excellent account of his religious shift from Catholicism to Christian Science. At the end, however, the reader feels that he has not grasped the enigma of Philip Kerr. The book's major weakness lies in its neglect of that shadowy zone between public and private life where Lothian and his close associates usually worked. There is nothing new on his work as secretary to the Rhodes Trustees nor on his relations with Milner and his fellow "Kindergartners" in the Round Table organization. Butler knows that these people continued to hold their "Moots" to discuss public policy and he must be aware that they worked to influence policy by numerous private and anonymous pressures. He says nothing about the creation of seven overseas Round Table groups although he gives the names of three of their members. Little or nothing is said of the instruments through which these groups worked to mold public opinion, the use of periodicals

such as *The Times*, *The Observer*, or the *National Review*, and the large number of academic chairs of history or politics whose nominating boards were dominated by Round Tablers. In general, Lothian's ideas are well presented, except for those on tropical Africa, which go back to his report to the Transvaal Indigency Commission of 1908. The ways in which he and his friends functioned and the fact that they devoted most of their lives to influencing public policy from behind the scenes are omitted. Lothian and his friends were much more significant persons than this book reveals.

Georgetown School of Foreign Service

CARROLL QUIGLEY

LORD ROBERT CECIL UND DER VÖLKERBUND. By *Maja Bachofen*. [Wirtschaft Gesellschaft Staat: Zürcher Studien zur allgemeinen Geschichte, Number 20.] (Zurich: Europa Verlag. 1959. Pp. 138.) This work is a summary of the life and thought of Lord Robert Cecil and an appreciation of his contribution to that institution which he called "A Great Experiment," the League of Nations. The author's purpose is to examine the League of Nations through Cecil's ties to it and to study the relation of a great power to the League by observing Cecil's relations to his government and Britain's policies toward the League. The purpose is realized, but the significance of the book lies in the portrait of a man who, horrified by the destruction of the First World War, dedicated his life to preventing another. Year after year, usually as Britain's official representative to the League of Nations, Cecil sought to induce peoples and governments to support the League's efforts for peace. Unlike many supporters of international organizations in the interwar period, Cecil was realistic and tough-minded. He urged the employment of economic sanctions against aggressor states in the thirties, saw clearly the menace to peace posed by the dictatorships, and denounced the Munich settlement in the House of Lords in words as severe as Churchill's in the Commons. Students of the interwar period will learn little that is new from this study, but it is well written and accurate. Based largely on Cecil's writings and speeches, it is a suitable memorial to a vigorous fighter for peace who died in 1958 at the age of ninety-four.

Colorado State University

BRUCE B. FRYE

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY: A HISTORICAL PROFILE. By *Henry Pelling*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1958. Pp. viii, 204. \$3.75.) The success of the British Labour party has undoubtedly increased our interest in the history of British radicalism. Mr. Pelling has created for himself an eminent position as a foremost authority on the modern manifestations of leftist movements and now takes on added importance in this needed study of the British Communist party. His earlier works on Socialism and the Labour party have provided for him a firm base from which he could make this authoritative excursion into a political movement that seems thoroughly at odds with the British political tradition. The British Communist party belongs, of course, to the period since the First World War. It has at no time, in its own right, constituted a threat to the economic and political structure of the country. Despite this, the party through its association with international Communism causes alarm out of proportion to its size and deserves study out of proportion to its domestic significance. It would be hard to improve upon the deftness and good judgment with which Pelling traces the history of the party and places it in its proper context. Perhaps the two most significant factors in the operation of the party have been the subservience shown by it to Moscow in all matters of policy and the authoritarian doctrine of "democratic Centralism" that characterized its operation within Great Britain. This blend of outward pliability and inward rigidity made many difficulties for it with the more imaginative and sensitive members, though it is amazing what some were able to swallow. The reader will find also subjects of particular interest in the relationships, real and

attempted, of the Communist party with the Labour party and with labor unions. Pelling's familiarity with the sources of the movement and the period gives his work the solid qualities one has grown to expect and enables him to keep his subject in hand and in place. Though it is not intended as a major treatise, this may come later, it is a useful and reliable treatment of a subject too long neglected.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

EUROPE

HISTOIRE DE LA CIVILISATION FRANÇAISE. Volume I, MOYEN-ÂGE-XVI^e SIÈCLE; Volume II, XVII^e SIÈCLE-XX^e SIÈCLE. By *G. Duby* and *R. Mandrou*. [Collection Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1958. Pp. 359; 383.) The modest foreword to this book disarms the critic with its insistence that the authors have essayed the impossible. Yet the reader may feel that there is no need to apologize here at all: far more daring raids upon the past have been made in the twentieth century by far less skillful minds (including fellow countrymen of the present authors). Of course this book is not, as Duby and Mandrou point out, written for a learned audience, but it is certainly a compliment to the French educational system and the general public toward whom it is ostensibly directed. And one may suspect that it will have an impact in proportion to the extent of previous acquaintance with the usual political structure of French history. For this is a social history, with no more than allusions to the kings and wars that make up the student's staple diet. As usual in a cooperative work, this one is uneven. The first third, devoted to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, is clearly superior to the rest from the point of view of writing. A long essay, with virtually no references, it is smooth, impressionistic, and compelling. What professional medievalists will make of it, I am incompetent to say, but it would be surprising if they did not agree that Duby had fulfilled his purpose admirably. Mandrou's two-thirds seem less of a piece. Complete with footnotes and references, it is less impressionistic, less smooth, but more analytical. With the twentieth century, he does not altogether avoid the pitfalls of mere cataloguing, though probably all but writers on contemporary subjects will insist these are inevitable. The wealth of recent social history simply forbids doing for, say, 1914 what has here been done for the year 1000. Some perspective on current affairs has, nevertheless, been achieved. These chapters are noteworthy for their lack of that peculiar national sensitivity found in such writers as Charles Morazé: the point of view is liberal, humane, dispassionate, but not disinterested. There is no index, but the tables of contents are satisfactory. The few illustrations are well chosen. The maps conform to the standard of excellence one has come to expect from French scholars.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

MÉMOIRES DU CHANOINE JEAN MOREAU SUR LES GUERRES DE LA LIGUE EN BRETAGNE. Edited by *Henri Waquet*. [Archives Historiques de Bretagne, Number 1.] (Quimper: Archives Départementales. 1960. Pp. xx, 313. 12 new fr.) This well-known contemporary account of the terminal phase of the wars of religion in Brittany is here made available in a critical edition for the first time, thereby considerably increasing its value to students of the period. The author, a minor cleric and officeholder in Quimper, presents a vivid and penetrating description of the eight years of warfare that wracked his province between the death of Henry III and the surrender of the duc de Mercœur to Henry IV. Not only are military events described accurately, but the mentality of the Catholic *Ligueurs* is well exemplified by Moreau himself since

he regarded all others as "politiques, royalistes, hérétiques, huguenots." The chief value of this memoir lies in Moreau's concise, effective description of the impact of religious warfare upon Brittany and the baseness of much of its motivation. Although Moreau was strongly partisan, he was keenly aware of the failings of all parties and repeatedly shows how factious groups of royalist and *Ligueur* nobles sought personal gain through the blood of others. Especially extensive is the treatment of the intrigues and military action in and around Quimper. Moreau likewise describes the sieges and sacking of many towns, the devastation of the countryside, the famine, pestilence, and the innumerable cruelties that accompanied this type of warfare. Such extraneous elements as peasant uprisings and marauding English and Spanish troops only served to increase the general desolation. In these ways the memoir represents a valuable study of the degeneration of all phases of French life in an important province and of the evident need of strong royal government which Moreau reluctantly but inevitably accepted.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

GASTON D'ORLÉANS, CONSPIRATEUR ET PRINCE CHARMANT. By *Georges Dethan*. (Paris: Fayard. 1959. Pp. 469. 15 new fr.) Historians have written of Gaston d'Orléans, second son of Henry IV, and brother of Louis XIII, as a worthless leader of revolts. To his contemporaries, however, who saw him as heir to a sickly and childless king, Gaston's life and personality take on the importance given them by Georges Dethan, archivist at the Quai d'Orsay. Despite an avowed affection for his hero, the author maintains good historical perspective. Gaston wanted to be king, and this along with a turbulent childhood made it impossible for him to establish a mature relationship with his brother. Once Louis XIII was free from a domineering mother (Marie de Médicis), who favored Gaston, Louis barred Gaston from governmental participation. After Gaston became a ready listener to malcontents and a leader of plots, the King banished him to Blois. Here Gaston mixed intrigue with a brilliant court life, patronizing the arts and architects (François Mansart), collecting medals and manuscripts, and dabbling in science, only to come out frequently as a halfhearted leader of revolts against Richelieu, whom he hated, and his brother, for whom he held a latent affection. Gaston is portrayed as the last representative of a long princely tradition who wished the King to govern with the advice of the princes of the blood, who would ally with the King's foreign enemies, and who at the same time showed sympathy for the people and mediated during moments of internal strife. Written for the sophisticated French reading public, it provides an excellent portrait of Gaston and of the *grand siècle* because of the author's wide knowledge of history, art, and literature. Dethan has obviously searched carefully for Gaston, but in spite of his erudition it is interesting to note that like many before him, he was obliged to rely on memoirs to make his hero living and interesting. He does this very well.

University of Southern California

OREST RANUM

LA BANQUE PROTESTANTE EN FRANCE DE LA RÉVOCATION DE L'ÉDIT DE NANTES À LA RÉVOLUTION. Volume I, DISPERSION ET REGROUPEMENT (1685-1730). By *Herbert Lüthy*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volume XIX.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. Pp. xvi, 454.) The modest title of this work belies its general significance. It is destined to become a standard reference for almost all aspects of French history in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, political, diplomatic, economic, social, and religious. The author, a distinguished journalist as well as a historian, has combed both public and private archives of France and Switzerland with Calvinistic thoroughness and scruple, and presents his findings with a plethora of de-

tail. The bulk of the material in the first of two volumes concentrates on two major episodes: the financial operations of the War of the Spanish Succession and John Law's "Mississippi Bubble" under the regency. Lüthy demonstrates beyond question the preponderant role of Protestants and "nouveaux catholiques" in the first episode, due to the strategic location of Geneva, with its large colony of French exiles, in neutral Switzerland and to the dispersion of Huguenots throughout Europe (genealogy occupies an important place in the book, just as kinship ties occupied an important place in the lives of the Huguenots). He also shows how Law's "System" affected the morals and mores, not to mention the fortunes, of even the conservative Calvinist bankers of Geneva. The author is usually content to let the reader draw for himself such conclusions as are implicit in the masses of detailed information he has compiled, but in a relatively brief introduction he offers several suggestive hypotheses which transcend the immediate import of his empirical findings. On the question of motives behind the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which he presents under the heading of "Counter-Reformation vs. State Religion," he inclines to the view that Louis XIV was more interested in superficial uniformity and obedience to the state than in doctrine and belief. On the still more controversial issue of the relation of religious affiliation and economic activity, he suggests that religious persecution may have been as important as belief in turning the Huguenots toward commerce and finance. The last word on these topics remains to be said, but those who attempt to say it will surely find much to reflect on in these crowded pages. The excellent index of proper names, giving identifying information and in many cases genealogical ties, will facilitate their use.

University of Wisconsin

RONDO E. CAMERON

L'ALSACE AU DÉBUT DU XIX^e SIÈCLE: ESSAIS D'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE, ÉCONOMIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE (1815-1830). Volume II, LES TRANSFORMATIONS ÉCONOMIQUES. By *Paul Leuilliot*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. Pp. 505.) In the second volume of what will certainly become a landmark in the writing of French local history, Leuilliot studies the economic life of Alsace during the Restoration period. This largely descriptive work is an account of continuity and change. The author traces the origins of Restoration economic institutions, practices, and problems, noting particularly the impact of the revolutionary and Napoleonic period. The influence of the Revolution is especially evident in agriculture where, for example, the uncertain status of the former common lands became a barrier to economic progress. Alsace's location on the frontier and the consequent economic relations with neighboring states explain the region's sensitivity to the government's commercial policy. The expansion of mining operations, the "mining fever," Leuilliot calls it, was a sign both of fuel shortages and industrial activity. In the important metallurgical industry, production increased steadily if not spectacularly. A lengthy chapter discusses cotton textiles, an industry basic to the Alsatian economy. The author occasionally digresses to discuss the sociology of the region. These digressions, among the most interesting sections of the volume, include the character of the Alsatian, the reaction to Jewish usury, the education of the sons of the textile manufacturers. As in Leuilliot's previous volumes on Alsace, the research has been exceptionally painstaking. In addition to public archival and printed materials, he has obtained access to some business archives. The chapter on the working class is the least satisfactory. Here the author discusses hiring practices in one paragraph and lumps together in another paragraph worker housing, the workday, and the *livret*. Both volumes published thus far (a third on religious and cultural life is still to appear) raise the question of whether something is not lost, even for the specialist, by the profusion of detail—the kind of detail usually reserved for footnotes. Despite this reserva-

tion, however, no one interested in French economic life during these years can neglect Leuilliot's noteworthy contribution.

San Jose State College

DAVID I. KULSTEIN

LE CULTE DE NAPOLEON, 1815-1848. By J. Lucas-Dubreton. (Paris: Editions Albin Michel. 1960. Pp. 468. 15 new fr.) The growth of the Napoleonic legend continues to fascinate modern readers. Napoleon, the realist, proved to have been even greater as an illusionist. In the memoirs he dictated at Saint Helena, he presented himself as the friend of peace who never went to war except to defend the principles of the French Revolution, the friend of religion, the friend of oppressed nationalities, and the friend of democracy, witness the *Acte Additionnel* of 1815. During the Bourbon Restoration, few additions were made to the Napoleonic legend. In the period of the July Monarchy, however, Victor Hugo, Balzac, and even the government itself made the legend of the "Little Corporal" grow luxuriantly by finishing the Arch of Triumph and bringing back Napoleon's body for a spectacular reburial in Paris. The timid domestic and foreign policies of the regime of Louis Philippe made a negative contribution to this growth. As Lamartine said, "France is bored," and as Thiers remarked, concerning the government of France after 1840, "Give us this day our daily platitude." The work of Lucas-Dubreton, a well-known French popular writer, goes over familiar ground. It is based on many secondary works and on memoirs, but neither newspapers nor the periodicals of the period seem to have been examined. As his account is now the fullest that exists on the growth of the legend, it will prove useful to all students of the period. It supplements, rather than supplants, two earlier works: P. Gonnard, *Origine de la légende Napoléonienne* (1906), and J. Dechamps, *Sur la légende de Napoléon* (1931).

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

KING OF ROME: A BIOGRAPHY OF NAPOLEON'S TRAGIC SON. By André Castelot. Translated by Robert Baldick. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. 396. \$5.00.) Originally published in France (1959) under the title *L'Aiglon Napoléon Deux*, this new study of the King of Rome might fill a real need. A wealth of material has come to light since Aubry and Bourgoing published their respective works in 1932, and these new sources, which include letters exchanged by Napoleon and Marie Louise as well as those written by their son to his mother, at last make possible a definitive biography. It is disappointing, therefore, to find Castelot's volume a pedestrian account, tinged with naïve Bonapartism. Its greatest value lies in extensive quotations from new sources, but because of the absence of footnotes these cannot be identified. Despite fresh material the interpretation is timeworn, and there is almost as much fiction as fact in the account of the Eaglet's life. Born to greatness, he was robbed of his heritage by those who carried him away from Paris by force in 1814, and he ultimately languished in a gilded Viennese cage. His early death evoked a sigh of relief in the Hofburg where he was regarded as a political embarrassment. The book closes with an emotional account of the return of the Eaglet's body to Paris in 1940. The story in itself a tragedy, it is a pity that Castelot repeats obvious Bonapartist fabrications such as that the young prince was encouraged by his Austrian tutor to forget the French language. This charge is refuted by Marie Louise's letter on the subject. Notably lacking is an explanation of the political situation in post-Napoleonic Europe, which was the deciding factor in the King of Rome's destiny. Does Castelot seriously believe that if Marie Louise and her son had joined Napoleon after Waterloo "the greatest genius of all time would have been spared the martyrdom of St. Helena"? Such superficial judgments relegate the

work to the position of popular biography, and I can only conclude that a better study of the King of Rome is still needed.

Washburn University

RUTH FRIEDRICH

DEFEATED LEADERS: THE POLITICAL FATE OF CAILLAUX, JOUVENEL, AND TARDIEU. By *Rudolph Binion*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 425. \$7.50.) Mr. Binion could have written two and a half good books. He has given us, instead, a composite study of the public lives of Caillaux, Tardieu, and Henry de Jouvenel that is intelligent, thoughtful, often penetrating, but (a "but" more wistful than monitory) that leaves us wishing for more. The author treats his subjects on the basis of published sources expertly handled. He is familiar not only with the personality of his heroes but with that of many other denizens of their world whom he presents in discreet but illuminating terms. Personal interests and rivalries underlying economic and political activities are described in lucid detail, while certain set pieces (e.g., N'Goko Sangha) are treated with verve surpassing his constant competence. A clear and readable introduction furnishing the general historical background ushers in the stories of the three heroes. Binion evidently sees them as reflections of demos' suspicion of its betters and of the regime's incapacity to make effective use of its most talented sons. Their frustration is "a symptom and a symbol of the plight of their country"; their failure, "in miniature, the story of the failure of the Third Republic." In an important sense, this is true. But one wonders whether exceptional men can reverse large-scale socioeconomic trends that cut across their policies, whatever the predispositions of the "République des camarades." Except for Tardieu, they had not even, as Binion shows, found a clear analysis of their situation. And Tardieu, the best and proudest of them all, merely succeeded in formulating yet another doctrine fated to indifference in a market place where doctrines go cheap and acquire meaning only in terms of the interests they serve. This and other questions may rise in the reader's mind. They do not, however, lessen the value of a book that may be read with profit and pleasure by scholar and educated layman alike.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGEN WEBER

A HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. By *William C. Atkinson*. [Pelican History of the World.] ([Baltimore:] Penguin Books. 1960. Pp. 382. \$1.45.) Atkinson provides full coverage of the Iberian Peninsula, for the work begins with the Old Stone Age and continues to the recent years of Franco and Salazar. It is a reflective rather than a narrative history as the author takes factual knowledge on the part of his readers for granted. He strives for meaning rather than the presentation of new data. Only toward the last, in dealing with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, does Atkinson depart from this method. Feeling less sure, perhaps, of how the almost contemporary scene should be interpreted, he contents himself with a succinct factual narrative from the reign of Isabel II on. Despite much interpretation there are no startling new views given—a comment that I do not mean to sound unfavorable. The chapter titles express the author's opinions. The sixteenth century is "Involvement in Europe," the seventeenth, "Age of Retribution," the eighteenth, "No More Pyrenees," the nineteenth, with its emphasis on constitutions, the "Great Experiment," and the twentieth, "Disillusion." There are no separate chapters on Portugal, as the author feels the two histories to be sufficiently alike to permit appending Portuguese sections to chapters devoted mostly to Spain. Three chapters are entitled "Literature and the Arts," one covering the Middle Ages, the next the "Golden Century," and the third approximately the last two centuries. Atkinson is a stylist and interesting to read. I feel, however, that the book, intended for a wide reading public, runs the danger of being ig-

nored by that public because the author takes so much knowledge for granted. If he is justified in doing so for his native Ireland, which is doubtful, he is not justified if it was his intention to aim at any considerable American public. For example, if the reader wishes to know the given names of Godoy, Espartero, and O'Donnell, all frequently mentioned by Atkinson, it may annoy him to have to consult an encyclopedia. This is a good piece of historical writing, and if it is not widely read it will be because of the author's miscalculation, not his inadequacy.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

FRANCISCO DE LOS COBOS, SECRETARY OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. By *Hayward Keniston*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. [1960.] Pp. xvi, 463. \$7.50.) Among the courtiers of Emperor Charles V was Francisco de los Cobos, secretary and counselor to his majesty. In the exciting days of the sixteenth century when Charles was preoccupied with problems in his Spanish dominions, the Low Countries, the Germanies, and the New World, this simple Andalusian, born obscurely in the city of Ubeda, became a forceful and important personality, intimately associated with the Emperor and imperial policy. A dedicated royal servant, Cobos served in peace and war, in delicate international diplomacy and in tedious and exacting fiscal policy making and administration. When the alien Charles first arrived in Spain, he was suspiciously regarded by a Spanish nobility and *cortes*, who were jealous of ancient privileges and distrustful of his Flemish advisers, and he required a Spanish secretariat. Cobos was among the first appointed and rose steadily in royal favor and in the estimation of his contemporaries. Cobos' power was constantly augmented by the accumulation of special privileges, many of which brought him material rewards. It is with the growth of this power and with the man whose ability made it possible that this biography is primarily concerned. Against the background of the dynamic forces that were molding the history of the period, Dr. Keniston has created a characterization that takes on breadth as the narrative unfolds. Cobos not only becomes a real personality, he also becomes a prototype of many of the currents of his era: its materialism, its individualism, its magnificence. This is a study in Renaissance patronage, yet Cobos was no parasite. A man of ability and integrity, he did not trade simply upon his extraordinary talent for winning friends, nor was he ever threatened with charges of malfeasance. The author has succeeded in writing an entertaining and readable biography based on sound research. More important, perhaps, he has illuminated certain facets of the period, notably the relationship of Charles with many of the famous figures of the era. Relying upon original materials, Keniston admirably reveals his ability to select only those facts which add to his characterization, rejecting those which would serve only as a monument to his unquestioned ability in detailed research. His quotations are well chosen and happily rendered into modern English idiom, thereby avoiding pedantic cast and stilted phraseology. The pages are uncluttered by footnotes, but the specialist will find references together with other materials in the appendixes. The style is clear. The use of summary at the end of the work seems unnecessary and anti-climactic after the careful construction of the personality in the body of the text. The study is a valuable addition to historical scholarship of the period.

University of Arkansas

ANNE RILEY VIZZIER

PRIMERA BIOGRAFÍA DE C. COLÓN: FERNANDO COLÓN Y BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. By *Alejandro Cioranescu*. (Tenerife: Aula de Cultura de Tenerife. 1960. Pp. 252. 100 pesetas.) The thesis of Cioranescu is that Ferdinand Columbus did not write the biography of his father attributed to him and commonly called *Historie della vita e dei fatti di Cristoforo Colombo*. This translation from a Spanish original

appeared in Venice in 1571, rendered into Italian by the professional translator Alfonso de Ulloa. Cioranescu believes that Ferdinand wrote a little of the *Historie*, but that his share is small and that what we really have is part of a first draft version of Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias*. This version, he says, passed into the hands of the Columbus family and ultimately into those of Luis de Colón, the third admiral and son of the discoverer's only legitimate son, Diego. Luis, wishing to profit from the manuscript and being prevented by the Council of the Indies from publishing it in Spain, sold it in Italy and named as author his Uncle Ferdinand who had some reputation as a writer and had actually written a few brief passages which Las Casas used. Las Casas has been charged by some scholars with "faking" the *Historie*, but is not accused of such a fraud here, as its publication occurred five years after his death in 1566. The author reminds us that Las Casas forbade publication of the final version of *Historia de las Indias* until forty years after his death, and this prohibition must have been meant to apply to his original draft as well. Cioranescu points out that Las Casas, who is fond of citing authorities, quotes Ferdinand Columbus in only a few places, certainly not as if he had the manuscript version of a work by Ferdinand before him as most scholars have assumed he had. The Dominican friar, moreover, does not seem to know as much about the discoverer's early years as he would have known had Ferdinand really written a life of his father. Some will consider this a doubtful argument, as Ferdinand was separated from the admiral for years and was quite young when the admiral died. Cioranescu admits partial defeat in his closing lines when he says that a tradition of authorship that has lasted four hundred years may well outlast his own effort to disprove it.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

CEDULARIOS DE LA MONARQUÍA ESPAÑOLA RELATIVOS A LA PROVINCIA DE VENEZUELA (1529-1552). Volume I, 1529-1535; Volume II, 1535-1552. Preliminary study by *Enrique Otte*. (Caracas: Fundación John Boulton and Fundación Eugenio Mendoza. 1959. Pp. xcii, 272; 356.) When Professor Roberto Moll (1895-1956), famous Belgian economic historian of colonial Venezuela, died suddenly in May 1956, he left a partly transcribed collection of sixteenth-century royal *cédulas* (decrees) dealing with Venezuela under German control. He was editing these documents, drawn from repositories in Nuremberg, Seville, and London, to add to "the sketchy collection of *cédulas* concerning the Welser administration" of the area already in print. The work was considered so essential to correct misconceptions and to fill in gaps about Venezuela's earliest years that the Fundaciones Eugenio Mendoza and John Boulton of Caracas agreed to assist the Academia Nacional de la Historia by underwriting the cost of completion and of publication. Dr. Enrique Otte was selected to do the editing and to prepare a preliminary statement explaining the scope of the documentary collection. This work is the final product. It consists of two separate collections of *cédulas*, one from the British Museum containing 193 individual items, and one from Seville with 231 items. The importance of these documents is made clear in Otte's interesting and useful "introductory study" of some ninety pages. In this brief but carefully written essay he indicates how the Welser administration of the province was supposed to fit into the over-all structure of royal control of the Indies. It becomes clear that Charles V's government had no intention of permitting the contractual right of the Welsers "to discover, conquer and populate the coast," to become anything more than that, although they were permitted to name the governor and captain-general of the province under certain restrictions. The fourth *cédula*, dated 1529, is in part a re-statement of the many rights granted by the King to "the Germans." The editor has made minor changes in the transcription, such as correction of obvious errors in names of persons and places and omission of certain repetitious material. There is a full table

of contents for each volume (the documents are printed in chronological order), and two indexes, one of important persons and the other of places. This collection of documents takes its place with the various earlier collections of materials on the discovery period.

University of Georgia

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

MARCHANDISES ET FINANCES. Volume II, LETTRES DE LISBONNE, 1563-1578. Edited by *J. Gentil da Silva*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volume XIV.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. Pp. xviii, 412.) The once rather simple story of the evolution of European economy from guild to mercantilism to free economy is being rectified in the publications of economic historians. There was more independent business conducted outside controls than was supposed until a few years ago. This was true of Spain and Portugal, countries considered by those acquainted mainly with Northern Europe to be weighted down under bales of official red tape. What is surprising is that diligent searching is required to discover the functions of the guilds in such countries as Portugal, where they did not assume the position of influence attributed them in France and England. The present volume is a good example of the history of private affairs largely conducted outside the supposedly powerful trade institutions but not outside the law. The letters of the Gomes family of Elvas and of their kinsmen and associates concern their trade and exchange for a brief period in the sixteenth century in an area covering Lisbon, Venice, and Hamburg. The family was Portuguese; their correspondence was conducted in Spanish; the trade was international; the products were of almost limitless types, including slaves. In addition to a useful though brief introduction in which he cites the principal recent works concerning European trade, the editor has prefaced each letter with a summary or explanatory note in French.

City College of New York

BAILEY W. DIFFIE

PAN-HISPANISM: ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT TO 1866. By *Mark J. Van Aken*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXIII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 166. \$3.50.) Spanish efforts in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries to develop closer ties with the former American colonies are rather well known. Considerably less has been written about Pan-Hispanic endeavors of the earlier nineteenth century. On this subject Mr. Van Aken's interesting book, based on extensive research in Spain, proves quite informative. Various projects for Hispanic union or "moral reconquest" are presented in an often conflicting background of Spanish official policy. Considerable attention is devoted to the slowness of Spain's government in extending diplomatic recognition and its fondness for interventionist plots in Latin America, culminating in the three famous interventions of the 1860's. The author sees "the year 1866, when Spain became involved in a bitter naval war with the South American republics of the Pacific coast," as marking the end of the first phase of Pan-Hispanism and, therefore, an appropriate terminal date for his volume. (War with Chile, Spain's strongest opponent, actually began in 1865.) While viewing the Spanish government as "The chief obstacle to the successful implementation of a conciliatory program," he considers "the early Pan-Hispanic movement . . . primarily a campaign for cordiality waged by private individuals," and terms their achievements "of considerable importance for the future development of the movement." Although admittedly based primarily on Spanish materials and in places exhibiting a hasty examination of sources, this readable book ties together many interesting aspects

of Spain's relations with her former colonies during their first four decades of independence and indicates her part in fomenting anti-United States sentiment in Latin America.

George Washington University

WILLIAM COLUMBUS DAVIS

L'ÉDUCATION ET L'ÉCOLE EN ESPAGNE DE 1874 À 1902: LIBÉRALISME ET TRADITION. By *Yvonne Turin*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1959. Pp. 453. 1,800 fr.) One aspect of the late nineteenth-century cultural renaissance in Spain was a growing concern with problems of education. The present book deals in painstaking, and sometimes repetitive, fashion with efforts of the government, the Church, and various private groups to extend educational opportunity at all levels from the primary grades through the university. Accomplishments were slight, and the author is therefore obliged to concentrate on the exposition of doctrines and plans. Underlying virtually all discussions lay the question of religious influence. Should Spain build a secular school system in imitation of France, or should education, in accordance with Spanish tradition, remain a fundamental responsibility of the Church? Liberals like Salmerón and Posada, and especially the republicans, inclined to the secular idea. Conservatives like Pidal and Menéndez y Pelayo spoke for the tradition of Church responsibility. The debate tended to paralyze official action, and no government in the period covered by this book was willing or able to invest the money necessary to create a public school system of high academic standards. The author finds that the principal accomplishment of the era 1874-1902 was an increasing consciousness of the problems involved if illiteracy was to be eliminated and if high technical standards and intellectual liberty were to become characteristic of Spanish education. For this new consciousness she gives major credit to the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, particularly to Francisco Giner and Manuel B. Cossío. For its careful exposition of ideas, the book will be useful to those interested in nineteenth-century intellectual history, but its conclusions do not change known views.

Wellesley College

GABRIEL JACKSON

DAGBOEK VAN BROEDER WOUTER JACOB SZ (GUALTHERUS JACOBI MASIUS), PRIOR VAN STEIN. Volumes I and II. Edited by *I. H. Van Eeghen*. [Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap (gevestigd te Utrecht), Fourth Series, Numbers 5 and 6.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1959; 1960. Pp. 449; xxvii, 450-811.) Wouter Jacobzoon (1521-1595) was the last prior of the Augustinian house at Steyn in Gouda, where the young Erasmus had once been enrolled as a canon. This lengthy and detailed journal gives his day-by-day impressions of the crucial early years of the revolt against Spain. It begins in 1572, after the first victory of the rebels at Brill (Wouter soon fled from Gouda to Amsterdam) and ends in 1579, the year of the effective foundation of the republic (the Union of Utrecht). From Wouter's point of view, then, these years saw the triumph of the "Beggars and heretics" over the forces of righteousness, but this natural bias rarely interferes with his generally unimpassioned record of events. His most emotional passages occur on the frequent occasions when he prays for peace and an end to the bloody trials that God's inscrutable judgment sent to the Netherlands. The sober reporting ("on the 12th of July we heard that the people in Haarlem had nothing left to eat but cats and dogs") sometimes gives a cumulative effect of horror, and the diary generally reflects the impact of total war on the hapless civilian population. Wouter is no analytical historian, and he contents himself with putting down the news of the day as this was received at Amsterdam. Interspersed with this narrative are the stories of eyewitnesses to whom he talked, the affairs of the Augustinian chapter to which he belonged, the tribulations of his friends and ac-

quaintances, and the like. The main value of the diary is not in its historical chronicle—there are many contemporary accounts written by better-informed men—but in its interesting and often moving account of the effects of the war on ordinary people. Indexes, footnotes, and a glossary of obscure terms are provided by the editor, who has done his work impeccably.

Case Institute of Technology

DIRK JELLEMA

ROMEINSE BESCHEIDEN VOOR DE GESCHIEDENIS DER ROOMS-KATHOLIEKE KERK IN NEDERLAND, 1727-1853. Volume I, 1727-1754. Edited by P. Polman, O.F.M. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie, Number 103.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1959. Pp. xix, 827.) This is the first volume in a set that will cover the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the Netherlands from 1727 to 1853. The work is being done under the supervision of the *Rijksgeschiedkundige Commissie voor de Geschiedenis*, which in turn is guided by the Minister of Education in the Dutch government. The chief counselor, however, has been Monsignor R. R. Post, professor of Church history and doctrine at the Catholic University at Nijmegen. Twenty-nine collections of documents in Rome have been consulted by the chief editor, and it was deemed unnecessary to consult other collections, partly because they were not reliable and partly because the material in Rome included copies of the others. This first volume contains a short but excellent bibliography, and the documentation is also exceptionally good. Many of the documents are naturally in Latin, but those in Italian and French are also numerous. It may seem strange that the Italian papers surpass in number the Latin sources. The three subjects which according to the editor were the most important were: the vain attempt to obtain permission from the Estates of Holland to engage the services of an apostolic vicar for the Dutch Mission, the repeated and always successful requests to have an apostolic vicar operate in 's-Hertogenbosch, and the fruitless attempts to reach a reconciliation between the Dutch clergy and the headquarters in Rome.

University of Michigan

ALBERT HYMA

TURKU KAUPPAKAUPUNKINA RUOTSIN VALLAN LOPPUKAUTENA. Volume I, KAUPAN EDELLYTYKSET. By Aimo Wuorinen. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, L, 1.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1959. Pp. 440.) When this new volume from Finland reached my desk, I paused to reflect upon how thoroughly nearly every aspect of Turku's (Åbo) history had been investigated and recorded. An American city receiving even a fraction of this copious scholarly attention would have every reason to be eminently proud. The extent of research on Turku is suggested, for example, by the fact that Aimo Wuorinen's analysis of the conditions underlying the city's role as a trading center during the years 1765-1808 overlaps to some extent such earlier studies as Carl-Erik Olin's *Åbo sjöfarts historia* (1927) and Carl A. J. Gadolin's *Turun kauppa harjoittava porvaristo* (1934), and in part covers the same ground as Aulis J. Alanen's more recent *Der Aussenhandel und die Schifffahrt Finnlands im 18. Jahrhundert* (1957). Nonetheless Wuorinen's work, based on extensive research in leading archives in Finland, Sweden, and Denmark, and on numerous published studies, represents an important and in many respects an original contribution to our understanding of Turku's role in commerce during the last half century of Swedish rule. The author has succeeded very well in realizing his stated objective, "to explain what the conditions for trade were prior to the year 1765, what changes took place subsequently, and what their consequences were on trade." The major emphases are on the general political situation, changes in Turku's economic status, developments in the city's facilities, changes in the merchant classes, the impact of industrial and agricultural developments on

trade, and the analysis of the sources of new capital. Those who do not read Finnish will welcome the inclusion of a fairly detailed German-language summary, and perhaps they can make some sense of the valuable statistical tables, which unfortunately carry only Finnish headings. A forthcoming second volume by Wuorinen will deal specifically with Turku's trade.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

SPILLET OM DANSK NEUTRALITET, 1905-09: L.C.F. LÜTKEN OG DANSK UDENRIGS OG FORSVARSPOLITIK. FREMSTILLING: LÜTKENS SELVBIOGRAFIER, BREVE OG AKTSTYKKER. By *Troels Fink*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Sprog og Litteratur, Number 6.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1959. Pp. 341. Kr. 17.25.) The discovery of L. C. F. Lütken's reminiscences, together with related documents in the Danish archives, led to the preparation of this scholarly study. Troels Fink has chosen to focus attention on Lütken's activities on behalf of a Danish-German rapprochement during the years 1905-1909, but he also presents a probing analysis of Danish foreign and defense policy prior to 1914. His book offers no startling revelations for the student of World War I origins, but it does illustrate the complexities of formulating a neutrality policy. Late in 1905 I. C. Christensen, Danish premier and defense minister, appointed Lütken chief of the war ministry's first department. Almost simultaneously, H. von Moltke, who had succeeded Von Schlieffen as German chief of staff, began to concern himself with the problem of securing his army's northern flank. Moltke, who was on friendly terms with Lütken, was also disposed to recognize that better Danish-German relations called for a "more respectful" German policy in North Schleswig. The Danish ministers, through Lütken, were willing to strain traditional neutrality to the breaking point in their desire for improved relations with Germany. The book's most interesting and significant chapters deal with Lütken's conversations and correspondence with Moltke in 1906-1907. The Danes hoped that Germany would find Danish neutrality acceptable if Denmark gave assurances that she could defend herself against a sizeable British attack. The Germans took the position that Denmark, in the event of war, should decide definitely for or against Germany. It is revealing that Christensen, at one point in the discussions, appeared willing to grant Germany certain military guarantees in exchange for German recognition of Danish neutrality. Lütken also held out the prospect that, after the defenses of Copenhagen had been secured, Denmark might join forces with Germany. As Moltke assumed a basically either-or attitude, very little came of the Lütken-Moltke conversations. The book has two large appendixes. The first contains autobiographical sketches by Lütken, together with selections from his diary, and the second includes letters and other documents relating for the most part to Lütken's work. It has the familiar Scandinavian index of personalities, but would have benefited by the inclusion of suitable maps.

St. Olaf College

KENNETH O. BJORK

LATVIJAS SOCIĀLDEMOKRATIJAS PIECDESMIT GADI. With English, German, and Swedish summaries. By *Brūno Kalniņš*. (Stockholm: LSDSP Ārzenju Komitejas Izdevums. 1956. Pp. 376. \$4.00.) Kalniņš' book describes events leading to the foundation of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' party and covers the first fifty years of activities of that party, the oldest of all the Latvian formally established political groups. The book is based on an older party history published by Jānis Aberbergs and Voldemars Caune in 1929; it is revised and brought up to date by Kalniņš, professor at the University of Stockholm, the present leader of the party in exile and son of a prominent Latvian statesman, and the former leader of the Latvian Social Democratic party. Historical literature regarding the activities and programs of the Baltic political

movements is almost nonexistent. Historians and political scientists interested in these movements, therefore, will find Kalniņš' book interesting and valuable. Of course one cannot expect to find here an exceedingly fair and liberal review of the political developments in Latvia, because Kalniņš is a party historian and his book is a party history. The work is interesting, however, for its partisan account of historical events and for its revelation of the role and viewpoints of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' party regarding these events. Some of the accounts, unfortunately, are based on hearsay and may deviate from fact. On the other hand, we cannot dismiss other accounts which mercilessly explode myths and legends formerly accepted as established truths. Footnotes and bibliography increase the value of Kalniņš' book.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN GERMAN SCHOOLS: AN HISTORICAL APPROACH. By *Ernst Christian Helmreich*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 365. \$7.50.) This volume is the outcome of Helmreich's interest in the program of religious education in German elementary and secondary schools. It is the presentation of an involved and sensitivity-charged subject upon which there is no comparable study. Religious education in the German schools has been a controversial subject, or what the Germans call "ein heisses Eisen," since before the Reformation. The teaching of religion as a regular subject is not so much the issue as the kind of confessional instruction or whether the religious instruction shall be interdenominational or shall be above confessionalism and be nonsectarian. The author prefers the historical approach while the publishers present the study as "an interpretive account of religious instruction as it developed historically in the curriculum of German elementary and secondary schools." The result appears to be a combination of the two emphases. The book is organized into five historical periods. Part I, the "Introduction," begins with the Middle Ages and extends to the establishment of the Empire in 1871. The other four parts follow in chronological order: "The Empire, 1871-1918," "The Weimar Republic," "The Third Reich, 1933-1945," and "The Post World War II Era." Included in the fifth part is a chapter on religious education in the German Democratic Republic as well as one on Berlin. The discernment of historical continuity among the developments portrayed within the five episodes or periods is aided by the final chapter, "A Survey," which essays to present "a review of historical trends" within German religious education. In addition to the consideration of the interrelationships among the churches, the state, the schools, and society, the author seeks to depict how religious education worked out in terms of content of the curriculum, methods of instruction, qualifications required of teachers of religion, and supervision of the schools. The author is somewhat more familiar with evangelical than Catholic religious education both in the text and the bibliography. Helmreich treats the subject of religious education in the German schools with understanding and sympathy. He cites the main objective as the desire to give the German schools a "Christian character," says that "those interested in religious education seemed to realize (anew) that the really important thing was to have teachers who were themselves Christians with a living faith." Jewish schools existed separately and are discussed in the book accordingly. Religious education, religious symbols, and religious exercises are seen as becoming more important, especially in the Federal Republic, rather than waning. No effort is made to predict the future of religious education in Germany, but the author states that religion is not only being taught in West German schools, but that this is wanted there by the German people. In spite of the great variation among the different states, he thinks that the idea of the interdenominational school may be gaining strength. Though there is some inconsistency in the citation of German terms and an interchangeable use of the terms of "higher schools" and

"secondary schools," the book is a real contribution to the understanding of a complex and devious factor in German education and society.

Ball State Teachers College

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE

BISMARCK'S RIVAL: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL AND ADMIRAL ALBRECHT VON STOSCH. By *Frederic B. M. Hollyday*. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 316. \$7.50.) Albrecht von Stosch was an outstanding general in the Franco-Prussian War, the founder of the Imperial German Navy, a trusted minister of Emperor William I, and a close friend and adviser of Crown Prince Frederick William, the focus of German liberal aspirations. These qualifications alone would justify a biography of Stosch, but he was further distinguished when Bismarck singled him out as a dangerous political rival. This rivalry furnishes the title but by no means the entire subject of Dr. Hollyday's painstaking and thorough study of Stosch's career. The author has made use of Stosch's unpublished memoirs, other manuscript sources, and a vast amount of the printed literature of the period. On the basis of this evidence he has made a valuable contribution to the history of the founding of the German Empire and the German navy. Stosch's conflict with Bismarck was essentially over powers and prerogatives, intensified by personal antipathy. The strength of Stosch's position lay in his friendship with the heir to the throne, who was generally expected to make drastic personnel changes in the government upon his accession. To discredit Stosch as a future chancellor, Bismarck used the full power of his propaganda to brand him as a Gladstonian liberal. Hollyday maintains that this Bismarckian image of Stosch has since been fostered by historians. "The persistence of the belief that Albrecht von Stosch was a confirmed liberal is almost a classic example of the misleading effect of historical evidence," he says. Stosch attached much importance to the rights of the individual in society, wanted greater ministerial cooperation with the Reichstag, and looked to an enlightened middle class for the future development of Germany, but Hollyday believes that in almost every other respect he was a conservative nationalist. He wanted German unification by Prussian arms long before Bismarck, with supreme power invested in the sovereign. Stosch steadfastly combated particularism and insisted on Germany's need for a high-seas fleet and colonies. "Monarchical devotion and nationalism were rooted more deeply in emotion than reason. They, not abstract principles, played the determinative role in Stosch's political career," Hollyday writes. This is a curiously ambiguous view of political ideology. Belief in liberty or universal suffrage may after all be rooted in emotion, and monarchical loyalty and nationalism are surely abstract principles. The point of Stosch's conservatism is in need of emphasis, although it is not so novel as the author assumes for it is difficult to see how Stosch's views differ from those of many nominal German liberals. Nor does the monarchical conservatism of Stosch necessarily mean, as the author seems to imply, that a government under Frederick III with Stosch as chancellor and with advisers like Bennigsen, Miquel, and Benda, might not have moved in the direction of genuine parliamentary democracy. The Empress Frederick, with her liberal principles deeply embedded in emotion, would have seen to it that at least the effort was made.

Michigan State University

NORMAN RICH

MY LIFE. By *Erich Raeder*. Translated from the German by *Henry W. Drexel*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1960. Pp. xvii, 430. \$6.00.) The first volume of Admiral Raeder's memoirs was published in Germany in 1956, the second followed a year later. Raeder disclaimed any intention of seeking "to supplant those authors who, drawing on sources becoming more and more accessible both here and abroad, write the serious volumes of the last half century of German history." He de-

sired rather to help them fulfill their task. There can be little doubt that he has done this, for his book is an important contribution to our knowledge of both the Weimar and the Hitler periods. It is particularly interesting when it tells how the navy freed itself from the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty. It also includes treatment of the navy's domestic problems in the Nazi state, its role in the Spanish Civil War, its operations during the invasion of Norway, and the subsequent strategical differences between Raeder and Hitler. This edition of the memoirs has been translated by Henry W. Drexel into readable English, but so freely, on occasion, that the translation, while not distorting the meaning, cannot be described as a translation at all. The original text has also been somewhat abbreviated, although without essential change. The illustrations are new and are less interesting than those in the German edition.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

TENDENZEN UND GESTALTEN DER NSDAP: ERINNERUNGEN AN DIE FRÜHZEIT DER PARTEI. By *Albert Krebs*. [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 6.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1959. Pp. 245. DM 16.80.) The Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte continues its valuable series of publications with this useful autobiographical study. Krebs came early to the NSDAP from the Free Corps and the youth movement. In 1925 he began working with the Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband as an expert on *volksbürgerliche Erziehung*, and the next year became head of the Nazi Ortsgruppe in Hamburg. He thus illuminates two important aspects of the early development of the NSDAP: its contacts with the DHV, an "elite" group in the labor movement; and its organization in the second largest German city. His presentation of the DHV's activities is somewhat too gentle, for much of this group was ideologically closer to the NSDAP than appears here. One learns much about its connections with various parties, about Krebs's endeavors to prevent clashes between NSDAP and union activities, and about the DHV's support in 1931-1932 for the conservative Brüning line rather than the NSDAP. There were only 135 members in the NSDAP Ortsgruppe Hamburg in 1926. Growth was slow until the depression. Very significant is the evidence here confirming the general poverty of the party in the 1920's and its reliance on volunteer help and on income from dues and meetings. Krebs did not achieve resounding success as its local head nor as a newspaper editor. His resistance to the authoritarianism of the Munich headquarters led to his exclusion from the party in 1932. Regrettably, there is little on Krebs's early career or contacts with the party and the Free Corps. But he gives enlightening brief accounts of experiences with some twenty figures of major and minor importance. His sketches reveal the early NSDAP as it really was: Hitler excitedly discussing his fear of cancer; Gregor Strasser (the leader most appealing to Krebs), Hess, Reventlow, Rosenberg; Streicher, arriving for a speech, furious because "the Jews" had tried to "poison" his coffee on the train.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

HITLER UND DIE DEUTSCHE AUFRÜSTUNG, 1933-1937. By *Gerhard Meinck*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Volume XIX, Abteilung Universalgeschichte.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1959. Pp. viii, 246.) Research on German military policy in the Hitler period has tended to concentrate on the years just before and during World War II. In this volume Gerhard Meinck attempts to provide a survey of military affairs in the first five years of the National Socialist regime. He presents an account of the disarmament negotiations after Hitler's accession to power and an analysis of the real reasons behind Germany's rearmament program. In several sections, Meinck very thoughtfully demonstrates that from the beginning Hitler intended aggressive war for the expansion of Germany's territory; at the same

time he shows that this intention was not matched by specific plans for its implementation during the period under review. The assertion, in this connection, that the published version of the famous Hossbach Memorandum is a postwar summary rests on highly dubious grounds. On the other hand, Meinck has an interesting discussion of the changes in the German command structure in the last years of the Weimar period and in the years following. The roles of Schleicher, Reichenau, and Blomberg are illuminated, while Fritsch receives little attention. The actual details of the rearmament program are merely summarized, and not always very accurately. There is some valuable new material from unpublished sources, especially the Liebmann papers, and from personal informants. If this attempt to deal with an exceedingly important subject is only partially successful, it is because the author has neglected practically the whole non-German periodical literature of the last fifteen years and the massive quantity of German unpublished records available for about six years. Although numerous points where this specifically applies could be mentioned, the deficiency is most obvious in the discussion of Germany's economic mobilization. Since the author's approach seems basically sound, a revised edition would be desirable. Perhaps the publisher could then be persuaded to improve his performance by providing footnotes (instead of backnotes) and an index which would make the volume more useful.

University of Michigan

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

NAUFRAGES, CORSAIRES ET ASSURANCES MARITIMES À VENISE, 1592-1609. By *Alberto Tenenti*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, Routes, Trafics, Volume VIII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. Pp. 641.) The registers of two Venetian notaries, Giovan Andrea Catti and Andrea Spinelli, contain thousands of acts by which merchants and shipmasters renounce in favor of their insurers all claims to property lost by wreck or piracy. In effect these acts give an extensive picture of the insurance written and collected. Following up Fernand Braudel's discovery of these valuable records, Alberto Tenenti, aided by Braudel's Centre de recherches historiques, has compiled and presented the information they contain. The list of vessels totals 1021, for most of which we have the name of the ship, its master, several shippers and about a dozen insurers for each shipper and for the ship itself, a brief characterization of the voyage, and a statement about the cargo which is sometimes quite detailed. Considering the ships thus recorded as a representative sample, Tenenti sketches the movement of the port of Venice at the opening of the seventeenth century in his introduction. The result is our best description of Venice's maritime activity at that time. Good indexes of places, ships, masters, merchants, and commodities help anyone who wishes to make a more detailed analysis. Tenenti emphasizes the vital economic importance of marine insurance and the range of persons involved in the business. In one respect the 1021 ships listed are not representative. Voyages during which there was no loss are mentioned only rarely and incidentally. In the judgment of insurers the chances that wares leaving Alexandria would reach Venice safely were about nineteen out of twenty. This comes as a shock because the vivid descriptions of wreck and piracy have so stirred the imagination as to make a voyage without incident almost inconceivable. We are grateful for being reminded that there must have been many safe, dull, unrecorded voyages. Tenenti is a gifted historian of art as well as of ships and seamen. Whether describing painting or piracy, he deftly directs attention to the feelings of the participants.

Johns Hopkins University

FREDERIC C. LANE

SAGGI SULLE ORIGINI DEL PENSIERO MERIDIONALISTICO: DA SERRA A GALANTI, BALSAMO, SCROFANI, SYMONDS. By *Antonio Petino*. [Centro di

studi e ricerche sul Mezzogiorno e la Sicilia, Number 1.] (Catania: Istituto di Storia Economica dell'Università. 1958. Pp. 206. L. 2,600.) During the recent postwar period, Italy has been making serious efforts to narrow the gap between its economically and socially more advanced northern regions and the depressed, underdeveloped south. Government activity has been accompanied by a growing literature on the so-called "southern problem." But, as Professor Petino of the University of Catania shows in this work, realization that a southern problem existed is not a postwar development. In five essays, already published elsewhere, Petino points out that many eighteenth-century Italian economists studied the economic, social, and moral conditions prevalent in the southern half of Italy. The first analysis of the causes for the increasing poverty of Naples was, in fact, written and sent to the Spanish viceroy by Antonio Serra in 1613. From the numerous works available, Petino has chosen to discuss the contributions of the Neapolitans Antonio Genovesi and his pupil Giuseppe Maria Galanti, the Sicilians Paolo Balsamo and Saverio Scrofani, and the more general observations on Italian agriculture by John Symonds, the eighteenth-century English historian and collaborator with Arthur Young on the *Annals of Agriculture*. What emerges from these pages is that two hundred years ago the causes of the south's decline had been accurately analyzed and that valid suggestions for its rehabilitation had been advanced. Unfortunately, no action was taken then, nor was any real effort expended after the formation of united Italy, despite the investigations of Giustino Fortunato and others who, like him, stressed the urgent need for drastic reform. Petino shows well the historical continuity in the thinking of the eighteenth-century economists, the nineteenth-century reformers, and present-day planning and research.

Regis College

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

CARTEGGI DI BETTINO RICASOLI. Volume X (1 OTTOBRE 1859-30 NOVEMBRE 1859). Edited by *Mario Nobile* and *Sergio Camerani*. [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Volume XXXVIII.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1959. Pp. 448. L. 3,000.) This monumental collection of the papers of the great Tuscan *risorgimento* leader has been in publication since 1939. It supplements the ten-volume *Lettere e documenti del Barone Bettino Ricasoli*, edited by M. Tabarrini and A. Gotti (1887-1895). The capable editorial team has combed Europe for additional materials, including unpublished papers in the family archives at Brolio. The tenth volume embraces a complicated period between the Villafranca armistice and the Treaty of Zurich when *risorgimento* diplomacy focused on central Italy with more than the usual amount of intrigue. The documentation seems to sustain the interpretations of this period by W. K. Hancock and Denis Mack Smith. Baron Ricasoli sought fusion of Tuscany with Piedmont-Lombardy even though Victor Emmanuel II was afraid to move in the face of Napoleon III's veto. Desperately the Tuscan "Iron Baron" took up the idea of an interim regency in central Italy by the prince of Carignano. Early in November he arranged for a Tuscan assembly to nominate Carignano "to govern in the name of His Majesty the Elected King." But frightened Turin officials thought it safer to let Carignano "indicate" Carlo Boncompagni as his substitute, much to Ricasoli's anger. Jokes made the rounds that Tuscany was ready to fight Piedmont in order to unite with her. Another important theme in this period was Ricasoli's worsening relationship with the Mazzinians and Garibaldi, second in command of the armed forces of the Central Italian Defensive League. Fearful that Garibaldi might provoke untimely trouble with Rome, Ricasoli intrigued to force Garibaldi's resignation in mid-November. Scattered among the documents are interesting circulars to prefects advising them how to get the peasants to vote in favor of annexation at the plebiscite. Probably the most unexpected documents are love letters written to the dour Italian "Cromwell"

by a discreet young English admirer, Miss Florence Macknight (who was not mentioned in Hancock's biography). She eagerly awaited his weekly visits and sometimes performed secretarial tasks. Ricasoli prudently kept no copies of letters he may have sent to her.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

RADICALISMO E SOCIALISMO IN SICILIA (1860-1882). By *Gino Cerrito*. [Università degli Studi di Messina, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Magistero, Number 2.] (Florence: Casa Editrice G. d'Anna. 1958. Pp. 390. L. 4,500.) In this masterly study of Sicilian affairs during the period after the *risorgimento*, Cerrito describes the conditions and analyzes the forces and elements in Sicily that created and then tended to perpetuate the tragic state of affairs there. The bulk of the book, however, is devoted to a detailed reconstruction of those currents of radical and socialist ideas which, through the first twenty-two years of Italian unity, sought to canalize, reverse, or subvert the new political regime and the economic and social conditions of the masses of peasants and artisans in Sicily. Chronologically, Cerrito covers ground already familiar to students of Italian social history. The uniqueness of Cerrito's study lies in his use of local archives. He has reexamined and utilized the available manuscript materials, contemporary journalistic and periodical literature, vast statistical data in official collections, and biographical sources on outstanding leaders of Sicilian radicalism and socialism and on hundreds of obscure figures. Cerrito has brought order and clarity out of his profuse material and out of the complex political and ideological tendencies afloat at that time. The successive appeals of Bakuninism and Marxism, particularly in Palermo and other cities, are studied in the process of dilution within the freemasonic milieus of the professional classes just as the surviving attractions of Mazzinian radicalism are traced through their thinning out into the vague generalities of Garibaldian "revolutionism." Though incapable of full-fledged development on Sicilian soil, Malon's socialism eventually became the most important single force causing political and ideological polarization between groups of artisans and workers and the conservative and reactionary classes. The flood-like force of *trasformismo* may be said to have found its first effective dike in Malon's socialism. Cerrito's suggested conclusion is inescapable: in Sicily the politics of "transformism" did not succeed in masking deep moral "separatism." Cerrito has done an exemplary research job and written a truly fine scholarly work. Students of modern Italian history may well express grateful admiration.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

GAETANO SALVEMINI NEL CINQUANTENNIO LIBERALE. By *Enzo Tagliacozzo*. [Quaderni del Ponte, Number 8.] (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice. 1959. Pp. xv, 279. L. 1,600.) Tagliacozzo's biography of Salvemini is not only a fine tribute to the memory of an exceptional master but also an interesting account of the intellectual and moral history of contemporary Italy. The material "rebuilding" of Italy in the post-Fascist era has been subtly paralleled by a strenuous effort toward "moral" reconstruction. The continuing Italian quest for purposive substitutes for an intellectual confusion or vacuum has not, understandably, found its historian as yet. But some of the main features in that quest are fairly clear. Among them must be counted the "return home" of three older "masters," two living and one dead, who had differently resisted the Fascist involution of Italian political and "moral" life. Don Sturzo returned to Italy less as an elder statesman than as ascetic inspirer and living symbol of the programmatic and moral coherence of Christian Democratic politics. At the other extreme, the "discovery" of Antonio Gramsci, the publication of his voluminous "Prison Notebooks," the almost ubiquitous vogue of his historical and ideological exegesis on the state of Italy

according to an "Italian" Marxist-Leninist dispensation, more than filled the vacuum on the intellectual and political Left. The gray zone in between, the "lay world" of Italian culture and politics, was for a time unequally shared by Croce and Salvemini. The almost concerted, apparently organic revolt against Croce, not yet fully spent, has run parallel to the growing recognition of Salvemini, after his return to Italy but particularly since his death in September 1957, as the moral master guide of that lay and democratic Italian "world." Tagliacozzo contributes to the literature on Salvemini with full and explicit awareness of the historic significance of his "return to Italy" and of the moral and ethical function which an acquaintance with his life and work may serve among the younger generation of Italians. He has written a lucid, readable analysis of Salvemini's political and intellectual life through the "liberal half-century" with a view toward sketching the moral portrait of an exceptional personality. Once or twice the author disagrees with his subject's judgment on specific issues, but on the whole his admiration is consistent and genuine. The result is a very informative and in part illuminating reconstruction of Salvemini's political activity and thought to the eve of the Fascist period. Salvemini's historical thought receives somewhat more hasty attention, except where history seemed a function of contemporary politics. In the fuller biography that he promises to write, Tagliacozzo will assuredly give more substance to the men and conditions against which Salvemini successively fought in order to give more body to the man himself and to the ideas and ideals for which he consistently labored.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

STALIN AND THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY: A STUDY IN THE TECHNOLOGY OF POWER. By *Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov*. [Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 85.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Institute for the Study of the USSR. 1959. Pp. 379. \$6.00.) The book's thesis is that "in the mastery of power . . . Stalin surpassed Lenin himself" and that Stalin "created the machine which in turn made him what he was." In the process "Stalin completely destroyed the existing Party machine and the Party cadres established by Lenin." The author begins his account with 1928, when, at the age of twenty, he was admitted to the Institute of Red Professors. In 1930 he was suspended for two years and, shortly after completing his course of study in 1937, was sent to prison for five years; in 1943 he left the Soviet Union for Germany. The weight of the book is in the materials he assembles from published sources. Rightly enough, Avtorkhanov emphasizes struggles for personal power within the system rather than stressing a nonexistent struggle of ideologies. Although he brings his study down to 1957, he deals with Lenin's activity and with the rise of Stalin only in occasional flashbacks. It cannot be said that Avtorkhanov substantiates his thesis. He has no difficulty in demonstrating that "Stalin was a master technician of the Leninist school," but arrives at the conclusion that Khrushchev later displayed "the superiority of a gifted but ungrateful pupil over his former teachers." When he analyzes the characteristics of Stalin "upon which the entire philosophy of the present system is based," he has to acknowledge that Lenin had freely employed terror, "the essence of the Soviet system." He recognizes the extra-legal supremacy of the Politburo as "dating back to Lenin." In short, "Stalinism is the most comprehensive and most consistent application of Lenin's theoretical principles. . . ." If Stalin was but the heir of Lenin, what is the new machine that he created? All that Avtorkhanov shows is that most of the persons who had worked under Lenin disappeared under Stalin; it remains true that the "democratic centralism" of Lenin's dreams remained intact. The author does not recount personnel changes under Lenin, though the accession of the non-Bolshevik Trotsky in 1917 was more

significant than any new faces under Stalin. In contrast with his original thesis, he credits the "Molotov group" with being farseeing in realizing that Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev are all "compelled by the very nature of the regime to rule" as they have.
Brooklyn College

JESSE D. CLARKSON

THE UNION REPUBLICS IN SOVIET DIPLOMACY: A STUDY OF SOVIET FEDERALISM IN THE SERVICE OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. By *Vernon V. Aspaturian*. [Publications de l'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, Number 36.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard. 1960. Pp. 228. 20 fr. S.) The chief burden of Aspaturian's book seems to be that the constitutional amendments of 1944 were more a device to add genuine flexibility to Soviet diplomatic posture than a major measure to promote the celebrated Soviet nationality policy. No one is likely to quarrel seriously with this thesis. The brief section on the use of diplomatic fictions and vassals is very helpful in putting the juridical significance of the Soviet Union's exploitation of its constituent republics in proper perspective. The central chapters on the diplomatic powers of Republic organs become somewhat repetitive because of the detail in which constitutional provisions are enumerated. The author has attempted, through use of the Soviet press and other printed sources, and through interviews with Republic officials during a trip in the Soviet Union, to overcome the unavoidably formalistic framework imposed by the basic documents: the several constitutions, the published collections of laws and regulations, and the reports of parliamentary sessions. Despite much industry, the author must repeatedly say that the functions of this or that office are not entirely clear. Aspaturian's main point is aptly made in discussing Soviet policy toward establishment of national troop units. Early Soviet military organization of national troop units was on the basis of nationality groupings as well as Republic territorial divisions and hence emphasized the multinational rather than federal character of the Union. But "the 1944 Amendment limited the right [to establish national troop units] only to the Union Republics. Thus, it was more an expression of the juridical character of the Union than of its multinational nature." This sums up the function of the Union Republics in Soviet diplomacy.
Washington, D. C.

GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

NEAR EAST

TURKISH NATIONALISM AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION: SELECTED ESSAYS. By *Ziya Gökalp*. Translated and edited with an introduction by *Niyazi Berkes*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. 336. \$5.00.) Without question this volume is one of the most significant books on Turkey to have appeared in English in the last several decades. Berkes is to be congratulated on his excellent selections from Gökalp's voluminous writings. His choice gives the reader a rare panorama of the wide and penetrating grasp of Turkish national and individual problems as analyzed by this famous Turkish intellectual and patriot. The author, furthermore, succinctly summarizes Gökalp's life and work. He cogently points out that Gökalp was not a philosopher, economist, sociologist, historian, journalist, political scientist, or writer of poetry and fine literature. He was all of these; yet he rose above all to be something more. In these pages, which include the basic core of Gökalp's thinking (in a polished English translation), one can see the seeds of the many facets of the reforms and changes unfolding in Turkey in the years since Gökalp's death in 1924. It is obvious to any student of contemporary Turkish affairs that Gökalp's thoughts, as presented in his writings, have charted the course of Turkish development more than

have those of any other man. Here one can read the modern views on women, religion, education, the peasant, language reform, and the many problems that have confronted Turkish leaders since 1923. Gökalp drew a fine distinction between civilization and culture and declared not only that Western civilization would be inevitably adopted in Turkey but also that the fundamental culture of the common Turkish people would be preserved. He believed that the reasons for the failure of nineteenth-century Turkish leaders and of the Young Turks of 1908 were their attempts "to reconcile the civilizations of East and West." He felt that their principles were opposed to each other and that "each tends to corrupt the other." Gökalp proposed that Western civilization be grafted upon Turkish culture; he was acquainted with the ideas and works of a wide variety of Westerners. Although an advocate of a people's democracy, Gökalp recognized the need for leaders in society, especially in Turkey. He spoke of the intellectuals as the elite whose education had served to denationalize them. Their role, however, should be "to receive a training in culture from the people and to carry civilization to them." A whole generation of Turks has accepted Gökalp's ideas as truisms and has acted accordingly.

Ohio State University

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

PRELUDE TO ISRAEL: AN ANALYSIS OF ZIONIST DIPLOMACY, 1897-1947. By *Alan R. Taylor*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1959. Pp. viii, 136. \$4.75.) This is a slender book with modest purposes. Taylor has sought in his own words "to show the origin of a political movement, the formulation of its aim, and the implementation of policies designed to fulfill that aim." The author does not permit himself to digress into the many tempting problems that attended the creation and growth of the Zionist movement, the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and its unfolding into full self-government. The book's chief merits are its simple handling of a complex subject, its avoidance of passion in the use of emotion-charged materials, and its refreshing candor. It makes no claim to originality and, indeed, rests wholly on well-known secondary works or published documents. The author is not entirely accurate in his assertion that "the story of Zionist diplomacy is obscure," for a number of competent scholars have explored the field minutely and objectively. There is clearly room for further clarification of detail, but that will have to await the release of materials by the pertinent foreign ministries. Still, the most significant aspects of Zionist diplomacy from the founding of the World Zionist Organization to the emergence of Israel have been well charted, and Taylor does not basically deviate from what is commonly known. The merit of brevity, moreover, has severe limits, as attested by the total or almost total omission from consideration of many forces that helped shape the course of Zionist diplomacy. These forces included, among others, the rise of Palestine Arab resistance to Zionism, the progressive adoption after 1936 of the Palestine Arab cause by the nearby Arab states, the impact of Nazism, the shift of Zionist leadership from Europe to Palestine after 1939, and the changing patterns of great power rivalry in the Middle East. In brief, although Taylor adds nothing to the specialists' fund of knowledge, his book may nevertheless be recommended to the nonspecialists as a concise introduction to a knotty subject.

Columbia University

J. C. HUREWITZ

FAR EAST

CONFUCIANISM IN MODERN JAPAN: A STUDY OF CONSERVATISM IN JAPANESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By *Warren W. Smith, Jr.* (Tokyo: Hoku-

seido Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 285. \$4.00.) This useful study, the outgrowth of a master's thesis at the University of California, traces the uses of Confucianism in modern Japan. Backing for Confucian studies all but disappeared in the enthusiasm for Western ideas and institutions that characterized the 1870's, even though Confucian presuppositions of harmony and duty underlay many of the formulations of those days. With the achievement of political stability and national strength, interest in conserving earlier values revived; it now became important to Japanese leaders to slow the rate of change. In 1890 the Education Rescript, prepared at the insistence of the emperor's Confucian tutor, set the tone of moral exhortation that characterized official pronouncements thereafter. The author traces the many ways in which Confucian values were encouraged, and he concludes with a hasty survey of efforts made by the Japanese military to appropriate the Confucian tradition in order to justify and bolster their rule in Korea, Manchuria, and China. Except for the recent study by Donald Shively, "Motoda Eifu: Confucian Lecturer to the Meiji Emperor" (in D. S. Nivison and S. F. Wright, eds., *Confucianism in Action*), these problems have received little attention, so that this preliminary survey is to be welcomed. Nevertheless it is full of conceptual problems. What the author describes is clearly conservative, but it is less clearly Confucianism or intellectual history. The currents of thought treated in the book were marginal to much of Japanese intellectual life, and it is remarkable to note how few of the figures treated are considered worthy of inclusion in the recent volume *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era* (ed. M. Kosaka, tr. D. Abosch). It is not clear where the author would place the effective and influential conservatives, like Kato Hiroyuki who based his ideas on German thought, in relation to the pious platitudes of the official propaganda. He notes that the yearbook of Japanese Confucianism makes no mention of the Education Rescript. Was it Confucianism when Shinto priests took part in spring and autumn rites, or when wealthy industrialists sponsored studies of Chinese philosophy? There was, as the author points out, slight popular interest in all of this; the societies, temples, and journals he describes seldom stirred much response among men of letters. The significance of the movement was to be found, he explains, in the fact that "typical supporters of Confucianism in modern Japan represented a cross-section of the Japanese elite." The product of this scholarly preaching by nonscholars would certainly have astonished Mencius. Since the book deals more with cultural policy than with thought, there is merit in the suggestion by Professor Ienaga, who provided an introduction, that some attention should have been given to the support the government gave the family system. Despite these shortcomings the book is carefully done and based upon solid sources.

Princeton University

MARIUS B. JANSEN

BURMA'S CONSTITUTION. By Maung Maung. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1959. Pp. x, 325. Glds. 18.50.) The first third of Dr. Maung Maung's study of Burma's constitutional development, covering historical background since 1885, contributes authentic atmosphere for important events such as the Saya San Rebellion, the university strike of 1936, the Japanese occupation, and the situation of political tension after 1945. But relevant details are lacking, and the account is therefore superficial and occasionally inaccurate. The opening sentence advances the inexplicable and gratuitous allegation that fear of the "expanding power of America in China" helped drive Britain to annex the kingdom of Burma in 1885. Student discontent was probably not the cause of the original university strike in 1920, as is here alleged. Far too many persons are listed as having contributed to Saya San's legal defense in 1932. The nationalist *wunthanu athins* of the 1920's are not mentioned; the "martyred" Aung Gyaw's home was in Meiktila, not in Henzada; the political roles of Ba Maw and U Saw in the late

1930's are not adequately assessed. The account simply does not provide a systematic and accurate narrative history. The book's basic contribution is in the second section, which presents a running commentary arranged topically on various aspects of the Union Constitution and on its actual functioning. Here the author explains with illuminating clarity and candor the difficulties encountered in democratizing the country. The land nationalization policy, for example, was far from successful from the economic point of view, but it did serve a useful political purpose by taking the wind from the sails of the Communist agitators. Similarly, labor organization, developed on a political basis, contributed to laziness, indiscipline, and general inefficiency in industry. The manifold problems of administering Burma's planned industrial development are not here exposed. Elected village and town councils became the footfalls of politicians, who also interfered with general administrative operations. Favoritism in the public services, lack of training, insufficient compensation, and fear of punitive investigation all but paralyzed the bureaucracy. A special moratorium on repayment of government staff borrowings from moneylenders was considered necessary in 1957 to bolster the morale of the services. The allegedly nonpolitical judicial service has encountered great difficulty in maintaining its integrity, while hundreds of untrained "Honorary Magistrates" (in the pre-British tradition) have been pressed into service for handling minor court cases. Burma's foreign policy is clearly explained. Little of this information is surprising or new, but it affords convincing confirmation of assumptions previously made. The author is more generous than most Burmese in dealing with the Karen rebellion; Saw Ba U Gyi emerges as "a man of stature and sincerity." The final third of the book contains documentary appendixes, including the full text of the Union Constitution. Sixteen pages of pictures add to the attractiveness of the volume, but the typesetting and proof-reading leave much to be desired. This is on the whole a useful and welcome book.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

THE SIEGE AT PEKING. By *Peter Fleming*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1959. Pp. 273. \$4.00.) China shook the world not only in 1949 but also in 1900 when the Empress Dowager Tz'ü Hsi virtually declared war against the whole world. By her covert order the ignorant and fantastic Boxers attempted to extinguish all foreign devils in North China. Some two thousand Europeans and Chinese Christians were trapped in the legation quarters of Peking for fifty-five days. Sixty-six foreigners were killed and 150 were wounded. This notorious incident provided one of the major sources of information about Chinese civilization for Western textbooks for many decades. There is no lack of general accounts and monographic studies about the Boxer Rebellion, many of which are listed in this book's bibliography. Fleming is a former British army officer, journalist, and author of several works of historical fiction and travelogues. The book is based in part on some private papers and diaries left by Sir Claude MacDonald, the British minister to China who served as commander in chief during the siege, and by Dr. G. E. Morrison, correspondent of the *London Times*. As he uses these unpublished materials, the author presents details concerning the jealousies and difficulties of the people in the legation quarters during the long struggle. He also presents some information about the hurried organization, the loose cooperation, and the improper behavior of foreign troops in China. The style, half journalistic and half historical, results in easy reading. Fleming's attitude is fair and candid; he did not spare the rod either for Chinese officials or for Western officers. For information on the cause of the Boxer uprising, he relied largely on Chester C. Tan's *The Boxer Catastrophe*.

Indiana University

S. Y. TENG

UNITED STATES

INDIANS OF THE HIGH PLAINS: FROM THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD TO THE COMING OF EUROPEANS. By *George E. Hyde*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 54.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 231. \$4.00.) This is a troublesome little book. Hyde's declared intention was to write a popular narrative describing the movement of the Plains Indians and their earliest contacts with the whites. But the book does not quite fulfill this end. In both style and organization the work calls for close reading; the general public will be either misled or confused by a bewildering array of place and Indian names. Hyde does not present an adequate definition of what he means by the High Plains and he draws on material from the Great Basin to the Red River. The work is at its best when the author relies on the careful studies and historical documentation of A. B. Thomas, but whereas Thomas' chronology ended confusion, Hyde skips around in covering the period from 1300 to roughly 1800. When the author turns to archaeology for documentation, the lack of precision is more serious. There are too many "conjectures" and "surmises" that are treated as facts. The mingling of historical and archaeological evidence is not entirely satisfactory for this problem. Since the book was aimed at the "general reader" it is rather interesting to see Hyde arguing the thesis that the Padouca Indians were really Apache. Because documentation is limited, especially in regard to anthropological and archaeological sources, it is hard to accept what appears to be a strong revision of the popular view of the Comanche on the Plains. One cannot but regret that this work was not aimed at the scholarly audience. With better maps, suitable documentation, and a complete bibliography, it could have made a real contribution.

San Diego State College

A. P. NASATIR

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, REALISTS AND IDEALISTS: A CATHOLIC INTERPRETATION. By *Sister Dorothy Jane Van Hoogstrate, S.L.* (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Company. 1960. Pp. xiii, 332. \$6.25.) Although the title suggests that this book offers a Catholic interpretation of American foreign policy, such is not the case. It contains little on the history of that policy itself, and is, in effect, an effort by a nun, the dean of Webster College, Webster Groves, Missouri, to state a Catholic position in the academic debate of a few years ago between the so-called realists and idealists, mainly those who wrote polemic pieces on American foreign policy or the interpretation of its history. The book is divided into three main parts. The first deals with the ideas and arguments of the realists, of men such as Charles A. Beard, George F. Kennan, and Hans J. Morgenthau, and the second with the writings of the idealists, of works by Dexter Perkins, Robert E. Osgood, Frank Tannenbaum, and others. In the third section the author discusses Catholic thought, touching on such topics as principles relating to man and the state, international society and its responsibilities, and applications of Catholic social doctrine. In this, the body of the book, there is virtually no interpretation or other clear connective tissue, and, except for the criteria of realism and idealism, the basis of selection of representative writers is not clear. Journalists, editors of symposia, and seemingly casual writers on foreign policy are lumped together, it appears, indiscriminately with those who have given deep thought and years of study to the history and meaning of American foreign policy. This study, in other words, is primarily a digest of opinions, ideas, and arguments. The part on Catholic ideas, moreover, does not seem directly relevant to the theme of realism and idealism in American foreign policy. The relevant interpretation comes in the conclusion, in the last five pages of text. There, in essence, the author says that the Catholic

position is closer to that of the idealists than to the views of the realists, though it takes exception to some idealist thinking. There is a need for the analysis of ideas and the presentation of theory in the history of American foreign policy, and certain issues in policy may legitimately be assessed from a Catholic as well as from a Protestant or Jewish point of view. Yet, it seems doubtful that there is a specifically Catholic position, or even a Protestant or Jewish one, on the question of realism and idealism in American foreign policy. This study, one whose pertinent ideas could be effectively compressed into an article, does not show convincingly that there is a specifically Catholic interpretation of its subject, especially since few have written as Catholics on the history of American foreign policy. Its virtue lies in its convenient summary of the writings on realism and idealism and of some Catholic thought.

University of Michigan

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

MERCHANTS AND PLANTERS. By *Richard Pares*. [Economic History Review Supplements, Number 4.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Economic History Society. 1960. Pp. 91. \$2.00.) Originally offered as the Chichele Lectures at the University of Oxford, this final work of the late Professor Pares goes far to sum up a lifetime of distinguished scholarship in the field of colonial history. Here, as in most of his earlier studies, Pares is concerned with the economic bases of Europe's Atlantic empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What was the relationship between merchants and planters of the tobacco and sugar colonies of British and French America? Who invested in these enterprises, and why? To answer these questions, the author draws heavily on his own publications, as well as on those of G. Debien, F. W. Pitman, L. J. Ragatz, V. T. Harlow, and many other authorities. Pares calls attention to some manuscript materials, especially to items in British West Indian archives. With his usual love of detail, he looks to other writers chiefly for matter-of-fact evidence, rather than for theories of imperialism and capitalism. At the outset of his monograph, he notes the existence of Marxist and other schools of thought on the subject, but he writes in complete independence of them and is content to "ask the kind of questions which colonists must have asked themselves, and show what kind of answers they got." Although Pares builds on indentures, rates of exchange, shipping charges, and inventories, he exhibits characteristic boldness and resourcefulness in his accustomed role as a comparative historian. The monograph moves easily and effectively from metropolis to frontier, from the islands to the Continent, from period to period, and from French to British experience. Pares concludes that except at the beginning, when the pump was primed, the colonies themselves were the source of their investment capital, and there was something to spare for the enrichment of the mother countries. Adam Smith was quite wrong in holding that the overflow of English riches accounted for colonial prosperity. It was not always so, but by the eve of the American Revolution, the British West Indian merchant was essentially the agent of the planter, who took the initiative and risk in sending his crop to Britain. For this reason, merchants and planters were able to act together in lobbying for the sugar interest in the imperial parliament. In the French West Indies, where the merchant was more entrepreneur than factor, this identification of merchants and planters did not prevail, and it held true only in part in the tobacco economy.

University of Texas

J. HARRY BENNETT, JR.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN COLONIAL NEW YORK: THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Allen W. Trelease*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 379. \$6.75.) As a definitive and detailed study of the official relations of the governments of New Netherland and New York with various Indian groups, Dr. Trelease's volume

will probably be unsurpassed. He begins with an ethnological analysis of the tribes in and around Manhattan Island and then examines the gradual destruction and dispersal of the local tribes who, once they sustained the initial European settlement, lost their usefulness and found that they could not withstand the onslaughts of a more advanced civilization. He concludes with the problem of coexistence between the European and the Iroquois which became dominant by the time of the English conquest of the colony. Trelease differs from past authorities such as Charles H. McIlwain and George T. Hunt in his interpretation of the Iroquois' motivation for their wars with the Ohio Valley tribes. He suggests that they did not intend to force themselves upon the other nations as middlemen in the fur trade with Albany but that they sought to dispossess them from their hunting lands. He recognizes, however, that the older view is not totally inaccurate and that both are based on assumption and interpretation rather than on documentation. Because of its extensive utilization of sources and because of its detailed presentation, this volume has pre-empted this particular field. This should not, however, preclude others from approaching the same subject with different objectives. Other aspects of European-Indian relations in colonial New York remain enticingly unexplored, such as a detailed examination of the actual trade pattern and its broader economic significance for the European and an analysis of the changing attitudes of the Europeans toward the Indians. For those who undertake such studies, Trelease's work will be a useful guide and outline.

Brandeis University

LAWRENCE H. LEDER

THEIR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES: THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM IN MARYLAND. By *Thomas O'Brien Hanley, S.J.* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 142. \$2.75.) Among the nations representative of Western civilization, the question of the respective spheres of church and state, as well as the matter of specific obligations of the individual to each institution, has always posed a serious problem. Totalitarian governments can, of course, arbitrarily require complete compliance of all to the purposes of the state. But this is not the case with states of more liberal form, where crises often have arisen in the effort to separate the presumably nonreligious from the religious aspects of the social order. Conditions in England and its North American colonies in the seventeenth century well illustrate the problem. Father Hanley's study, while dealing primarily with early Maryland, is nevertheless valuable in demonstrating how civil and religious liberty developed generally. Thus the author traces the concept of separation of church and state in England from the days of the great Catholic liberal Thomas More through Cardinals Allen and Bellarmine down to the time of James I and the first two Baltimores, George and Cecil Calvert. The writer's thesis definitely points to the conclusion that the Catholic influence is on the side of a complete separation of church and state in this period. Hanley's chief emphasis is upon a hitherto obscure Maryland ordinance of 1639, which, initiated by the colonists themselves and carried to success over the wishes of a reluctant lord proprietor, gave recognition to the principle of religious freedom in Maryland a full ten years before the passage of the much-heralded Toleration Act of 1649. The implications of this ordinance of 1639 were remarkable "for its day." Not only were church and state conceived as autonomous and distinct, but the "right of conscience" was placed by the ordinance upon the broad basis of a "natural right," just as were other traditional individual rights.

University of Maryland

VERNE E. CHATELAIN

MEDICINE AND SOCIETY IN AMERICA, 1660-1860. By *Richard Harrison Shryock*. [Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History.] (New York:

New York University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 182. \$4.00.) This little book effectively demonstrates the sort of contribution to historical literature of the essay written from a rich background of understanding. The individual chapters show the impress of the lecture form in which they were conceived. Three of them offer topical discussions of aspects of medicine in America before 1820 and the last summarizes the character and direction of medicine in the ante bellum period. The first of the Phelps Lecture volumes to deal with this topic, Mr. Shryock's book presents a continuing series of insights which identify it as a worthy companion for the other titles in this series. The volume's principal value is the author's striking ability to view medicine in its largest context. His specific knowledge of medicine is set within the proper framework of a broad knowledge of American history. One essay deals effectively with the internal life of science in medicine with particular emphasis upon Cotton Mather and Benjamin Rush, but even here, questions of theory are not overemphasized and the realities of practice properly receive major consideration. Elsewhere Shryock's emphasis is even more strikingly placed upon the social relations of medicine. He outlines the development of a distinct medical profession and something of its changing place in society. He is especially perceptive in sketching the early public health patterns in this country and reflects at every turn the stimulating recent scholarship on this topic. Indeed, even though the documentation is light throughout the book, it offers a very useful guide to writings in the field—often to sources that might easily escape notice. The book will be most useful to the general historian who seeks depth of understanding about the role of medicine in the early life of this country and to the medical historian who seeks a larger frame for his specific knowledge. Shryock's wit and perspective will please all who refer to this book.

New York University

BROOKE HINDLE

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S NAVY: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS EXCELLENCY'S FLEET IN NEW ENGLAND WATERS. By *William Bell Clark*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 275. \$5.00.) Here Mr. Clark continues his fine study of maritime problems in the American Revolution. As before, he has gone thoroughly into the research materials, digested them, and put together a narrative that fills gaps for the informed reader even as it corrects much misinformation widely disseminated for too long. In this process he traces the trial and error of Washington's effort to supply his troops during 1775 and 1776 by commissioning public vessels to prey on merchantmen serving the British in Boston. Clark's chief contribution lies in the information he presents concerning massive difficulties inherent in improvising civil machinery to support our first national army. Clark's narrative is deceptively simple when one perceives the complexity of his evidence. Relying heavily on eighteenth-century accounting instruments, supplemented by newspapers, official correspondence, and other widely scattered materials, he has reconstructed a story that evokes clearly the actual spirit of 1775 and 1776. After organizing the material, Clark let his story tell itself. The result is a tale of disappointment punctuated by just enough success to keep the Continental Army in business. Yet gradually the reader discovers how a dogged Washington forced both Congress and the army to assume their proper roles in a free country. This book will interest any military, economic, or political specialist of the revolutionary period as well as anyone concerned with the evolution of civil control of the military. It emphasizes the need for monographic work in these fields, suggesting implicitly many monographs that would be fruitful as we approach the bicentennial of our Revolution.

Annapolis, Maryland

W. H. RUSSELL

GENERAL JOHN GLOVER AND HIS MARBLEHEAD MARINERS. By *George Athan Billias*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1960. Pp. xii, 243. \$5.50.) Sound biographies of Continental officers at regimental and lower levels who were not afterward conspicuous in civilian life are rare. George Athan Billias has contributed an important study of General John Glover. His book is not remarkable because of its narratives of the achievements of Glover and his Marblehead men. Though these achievements, including the ferrying of the Continentals after the Battle of Long Island and before that of Trenton, and the resolute and effective defense against General William Howe's flanking troops at Pelham Bay, have not been ignored by the historians, Billias offers scholarly descriptions of these events. Especially valuable, however, is the information that he has carefully collected concerning Glover, his personality, his social background, his economic pursuits, and his changing views toward military service. Although the author avoids generalizations unwarranted by sometimes scanty data, he nevertheless gives a substantial, readable account of the life of one of those officers who formed the sturdy skeleton of the Continental Army.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

ANTHONY WAYNE, A NAME IN ARMS: SOLDIER, DIPLOMAT, DEFENDER OF EXPANSION WESTWARD OF A NATION. THE WAYNE-KNOX-PICKERING-MCHENRY CORRESPONDENCE. Transcribed and edited by *Richard C. Knopf*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1960. Pp. 566. \$7.00.) This attractive volume is a contribution to a better understanding of the struggle to hold the Old Northwest Territory after 1783. The correspondence begins April 12, 1792, and ends November 12, 1796. Twelve pages of editorial summary describe the significant events of each of the five years. The book is carefully edited and indexed. There are thirty-one pages of maps and photographs and five pages of useful selected bibliography. The letters that passed between General Wayne and the three Secretaries of War—Knox, Pickering, and McHenry—form a story of heroic deeds, Indian warfare, and frontier expansion and diplomacy. Wayne proved himself a diplomat and a superb Indian fighter. His impractical plan to send a second army by way of Lake Erie to Sandusky was quashed by Knox and President Washington. He used sound military strategy, however, when he relied upon patrols for quick action. He was stubborn and egotistical, but loyal to his government and to President Washington. He was an expansionist in heart and action, but ever cautious; never was he "Mad Anthony" in the West. He endured the insubordination and disloyalty of General James Wilkinson for the sake of the cause. He was rightfully exasperated by red tape, inefficiency, administrative delays, and inadequate troops and supplies. The years 1792 and 1793 were trying for he had to raise and train an army, defend the settlers, prevent incidents that would anger the Indians, be ready for war at any moment, and wait for the commissioners sent from Washington to the Maumee River to persuade the Indians to make a treaty of peace. Wayne repeatedly wrote to Knox that there could not be peace until the British relinquished the American posts on the Great Lakes. To officers and privates he was a martinet. He despised drunkards, deserters, speculators, lazy officers, and lax disciplinarians. He obeyed the commands of his superiors to the letter, if possible in a frontier environment. General Wayne's mission was accomplished before he died of gout at the Presqu'île blockhouse.

Miami University

WILLIAM E. SMITH

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume V. Compiled with annotations by *E. Millicent Sowerby*. (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress. 1959. Pp. ix, 442. \$3.50.) With Volume V of this work Miss Sowerby

has completed a truly monumental undertaking begun more than ten years ago. This volume contains the last part of the chapters dealing with the "Fine Arts." Chapter xxxix covers the dialogues and collections of letters from Lucian and Cicero to those of Madame de Sévigné and Voiture, while Chapter xl deals with logic, rhetoric, and orations from Aristotle and Cicero to the modern essays of Blair and Lord Kames. Under the title "Criticism" are included "Theory," "Bibliography," and "Languages." The title of the last section, "Polygraphical," is misleading; it comprises encyclopedias, but also the collected works of several authors such as Bacon, Locke, and Franklin. Jefferson's collection was considerable for his time. To all Jefferson scholars its importance will rank very close to *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* now being published by Julian Boyd and his associates. Miss Sowerby's catalogue must be used carefully by those who might be tempted to find in it a true and complete image of Jefferson's mind. What it represents is the most complete and comprehensive collection of books Jefferson could assemble, irrespective of his personal likes and dislikes. Titles of the books in his catalogue "which were not sold to Congress," appended by Miss Sowerby at the end of each chapter, represented the works he had used or wanted to use in his later years. Students of "literature" will probably be disappointed; light poetry, theater, and fiction were obviously of secondary importance to Jefferson. Thus the works of many standard authors were omitted unless they could be estimated as having some moral or philosophical value.

Princeton University

GILBERT CHINARD

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN: AMERICAN SCHOLAR. By *Carl Resek*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 184. \$4.50.) His interpreters have emphasized the contradictions of Lewis Henry Morgan, conservative Whig, Republican, and unorthodox thinker. Although Carl Resek stresses this view, his volume also furnishes data that seem to me to resolve the paradox. Morgan was one of the last great American scholars to exhibit specialized professional competence in several fields. A practical and logical person, he amassed a comfortable income, hewed the line in business and politics, and went to church to please his wife. Having made these concessions to conventionality, he felt free to indulge his real interests which involved him at times in radical and unorthodox interpretations and conclusions. As a young lawyer in central New York, Morgan was attracted to the political and social system of the Iroquois Indians. His *League of the Iroquois*, published in 1851, was a serious pioneer effort in anthropology. After diversions in business and politics during the Civil War era, he returned to his study of anthropology and social evolution. The result was his magnum opus, *Ancient Society*. By reference chiefly to the American Indian and to ancient Greece and Rome, Morgan devised a scale for the evolution of civilizations. Because of its concentration upon property and productivity as major factors in progress, *Ancient Society* appealed to Marxists as proof for their materialist interpretation of history. Morgan was the first notable anthropologist in the United States. Long considered the leading authority on the Indians, he remains one of the most important nineteenth-century American social scientists. Compared to the older work on Morgan by Bernhard J. Stern, the Resek study is less dogmatic and better balanced, supplies more biographical details, and puts the subject into the proper social and intellectual setting. But, for an analysis of Morgan's ideas and writings, Resek's book, superior though it is biographically, does not entirely supplant Stern's more systematic topical volume.

American University

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

TEXAS INDIAN PAPERS, 1825-1843. Edited from the original manuscript copies in the Texas State Archives by *Dorman H. Winfrey*. Assisted by *James M. Day*, *George*

R. Nielsen, and Albert D. Pattillo. (Austin: Texas State Library. 1959. Pp. 298.) With the publication of this first of a projected multivolume compilation of *Texas Indian Papers*, the Texas Library and Historical Commission has taken yet another step in the direction of discharging its basic responsibility to make more accessible to the public significant documents of the state's history. The present volume, containing over two hundred items, covers not only the colonial period of Texas history but also a number of years of the Republic. The arrangement is strictly chronological, beginning with a passport issued by Stephen F. Austin on January 15, 1825, to a Lipan chief and ending with a series of drafts against the government in 1843 for expenses in connection with the conduct of Indian affairs. A selected number of maps and illustrations enhance the value of the work.

University of Texas

OTIS A. SINGLETARY

MATT FIELD ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL. Collected by Clyde and Mae Reed Porter. Edited and with an introduction and notes by John E. Sunder. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 29.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Pp. xxix, 322. \$5.95.) In June 1839 Matt Field, an actor in poor health, said farewell to the stage in St. Louis and joined a company of traders who set out from Independence for Santa Fe some weeks later. On his return at the close of October he went to New Orleans and joined the staff of the *Picayune* as an assistant editor. For two years he mined his journal and his memories for little special features, publishing some eighty-five descriptions of scenes, actions, and persons on the road to Santa Fe and in the towns of New Mexico. The editor, John E. Sunder, has printed the one preserved diary. The first, which contained "minute notes" for the first month's journey from St. Louis, was lost on the Plains. Most of the extant diary is written in feeble verse (far from heroic in every sense) and is remarkably thin as a contribution to the literature of the trail. The prose sketches, however, though sometimes overwritten and secondhand, do give many entertaining, informative, and original glimpses of the Southwest and the behavior of Americans before the Mexican War. Originally appearing as independent feature articles, they have here been put into travel sequence and suitably annotated. The introduction places the author in relation to his work.

Washington University

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

THE PETERS COLONY OF TEXAS: A HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE EARLY SETTLERS. By Seymour V. Connor. [Publication of the Texas State Historical Association.] (Austin: the Association. 1959. Pp. 473.) The settlers of an area whose descendants have sent the only Republican to Congress from Texas since Reconstruction, who, in contrast to the rest of the state, were possessed of a high degree of Union sentiment during the Civil War, and who have achieved commercial and industrial superiority without special geographical advantage will be of interest to the social as well as the local historian. *The Peters Colony of Texas* is the story of the origins of present-day Dallas and Fort Worth and all or part of twenty-six counties in north central Texas. The author describes the archetypal colonist of the region as a prairie farmer with few or no slaves, lacking in education but having a little spare cash available for trade, since he got his land free, and as coming from the border or free states of the Union rather than the Deep South. The *empresario* system, a reversion to Mexican land policy, was established by the Congress of the Republic on February 4, 1841, when twenty petitioners, headed by William Smalling Peters of Louisville, Kentucky, were granted a location for the settlement of six hundred families. There are no records to explain the inspiration of this group of American businessmen and Englishmen, but from it the Texas Emigration and Land Company was organized.

The venture was in the main a failure. In all "the state gave away nearly three million acres of land to acquire less than eighteen hundred settlers." Dr. Connor has told his story briefly and well, with ample documentation where records were available and rational inference where records were lacking. Among the colorful participants in the history were the publisher of Stephen Foster's first songs, land speculators, future statesmen and politicians, the president of the Republic, and the lavish donors of land that made the Peters colony possible. The author states that "the most fascinating aspect of the Peters Colony history . . . deals with the people who came to settle . . .," and he follows with 284 pages of biographies of the individual colonists which will be of more concern to the genealogist than to the historian.

Del Mar College

EDITH H. PARKER

MONTGOMERY AND THE PORTSMOUTH. By *Fred Blackburn Rogers*. [The John Howell Series on the U. S. Navy in Old California.] (San Francisco: John Howell, Books. 1958. Pp. ix, 145.) This small volume is not really "the life stories, as they occurred in combination and separately, of a fine officer and a fine ship," as Colonel Rogers states in the preface. Rather it contains biographical sketches of Rear Admiral John Berrien Montgomery and the sloop of war *Portsmouth*, with the central three-quarters of the book devoted to the role of its two principals in the Mexican War. This is fortunate, however, since neither the naval officer nor the ship enjoyed the sort of career that commends itself to the biographer. The two are remembered almost entirely because of their bloodless seizure of the San Francisco Bay region on July 9, 1846. The story of the circumstances surrounding this event is worth relating again, particularly since the author's research was painstaking. Frequent quotations from contemporary accounts add to the interest. This is a creditable presentation of a topic more limited than the author suggests. The book itself is a beautiful example of the printer's and binder's crafts.

University of Alabama

ROBERT E. JOHNSON

MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST, 1540-1861. Volume III, FROM THE MEXICAN WAR TO THE BOUNDARY SURVEYS, 1846-1854. By *Carl I. Wheat*. (San Francisco, Calif.: Institute of Historical Cartography. 1959. Pp. xiii, 349. \$60.00.) The third volume of this prospective five-volume set deserves the same laudatory adjectives that have been used to describe its two predecessors. It is a magnificent production, both as scholarship and as an example of the printer's art. Beautifully reproduced maps, special paper, and attractive type are combined with an extremely accurate and informative text. Not only are the maps identified and described, but there is also material on the cartographers and on the background events that make the whole story understandable. The Mexican War, the California gold rush, and the early interest in possible transcontinental railroads all inspired the production of more and more maps, attested to by the size of the present volume. The California gold discoveries were particularly important because they attracted many migrants who recorded for themselves or for the government what they had found. These maps varied in accuracy, but they made the Far West better known. Perhaps because it was so difficult to obtain the latest information and so expensive to continually redraw maps, commercial map makers lagged in their production. In describing this five-volume set, it is difficult to imagine anyone who would object to the use of the term "definitive." Wheat is doing a tremendous job for the historical profession. One cannot conceive of anyone in the future having the ability, the knowledge, and the energy to do it again.

Dartmouth College

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION: A CENTURY OF HEALTH SERVICE. By *Robert W. McCluggage*. (Chicago: American Dental Association, 1959. Pp. 520. \$8.00.) This well-written volume ranks with the best of the growing number of histories of professional and learned organizations. Although this is primarily the story of the American Dental Association's development, Dr. McCluggage has gone far beyond the association to provide a thorough study of the evolution of organized dentistry in the United States, from the founding of local societies and journals to the rise of dental colleges and national organizations. The chapter notes at the end of the book testify to a thorough study of all available dental literature, including legislation and records of other organizations. Manuscript sources apparently were not available, for none are mentioned. The dentists' long trial-and-error struggle to establish an effective and representative national organization forms the main theme, from which is traced the formation of the first national organization, the Society of Dental Surgeons, in 1849, through the various structural mutations of the American Dental Association (1859), until its final reorganization in 1913. The dentists' primary objectives were to impose a specific code of professional ethics, promote dental education, and advance dental science. The last three chapters are topical essays on the relationship between the association and its members, the profession, and the public. Changes in theory, some of the advances in dental science, the influence of philanthropy, the reformism of the progressive era, the public health movement, and the fluoridation controversy are discussed. This will be a standard work in dental and medical historiography, but it also contains much of interest to students of professional, institutional, and general social history.

University of Texas

DAVID D. VAN TASSEL

HANDCARTS TO ZION: THE STORY OF A UNIQUE WESTERN MIGRATION, 1856-1860, WITH CONTEMPORARY JOURNALS, ACCOUNTS, REPORTS; AND ROSTERS OF MEMBERS OF THE TEN HANDCART COMPANIES. By *LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen*. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume XIV.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960. Pp. 328. \$9.50.) This excellent volume recounts the experiences of some three thousand Mormon converts who migrated from Europe to America in what was undoubtedly the most remarkable travel experiment ever devised in the history of western America. They came by handcarts during the years 1856-1860, employing 653 of these vehicles and fifty supporting wagons carrying food and camp equipment. This novel plan was initiated by church authorities in 1855 and grew directly out of the general policy of "gathering the Saints unto Zion" in order to build their new empire—a kingdom of God on earth. LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen relate the experiences of the ten companies of handcart pioneers who traversed the thirteen hundred miles from Iowa City to Great Salt Lake Valley. Their accounts have been drawn exclusively from contemporary journals. Sixteen excellent illustrations are appended, but no bibliography containing lists of both contemporary journals and secondary references is included. The authors' style is lucid, forceful, and stimulating, and the organization of materials is noteworthy.

University of Utah

LELAND H. CREER

PRAIRIE GRASS DIVIDING. By *James Iverne Dowie*. [Augustana Historical Society Publications, Volume XVIII.] (Rock Island, Ill.: the Society, 1959. Pp. xvi, 262.) This is an account of the beginnings of the Augustana Lutheran Church's Nebraska Conference and of the early years of Luther College, the conference school. It is more, however, than a history of the conference or the college; it is a chronicle of the movement of Swedish immigrants into Nebraska and their role in the development of the

state. Using church and college records, letters, unpublished theses, newspapers (both Swedish and English), and reminiscences, the author has provided one of the fullest and best-documented accounts we have of an immigrant group in Nebraska. He also has made a contribution to the history of Swedish immigration. The annotated bibliography, which provides a useful supplement to O. Fritiof Ander's *The Cultural Heritage of the Swedish Immigrant: Selected References*, is particularly valuable. Dowie is somewhat apologetic about the scope of his subject. He need not be. As Ander states in the introduction, "before the larger story of American history can be told, many historians must, like Dr. Dowie, turn their attention to the specific and the particular." Such shortcomings as this volume possesses derive not from the subject but from its presentation. The manuscript was originally written as a doctoral dissertation. Unfortunately, the published volume bears little evidence that the author took pains to transform the dissertation into a readable, well-organized book. Had he done so, his rather considerable contribution to the history of Swedish immigration and of the West would have been even greater.

University of Nebraska

JAMES C. OLSON

A. LINCOLN: PRAIRIE LAWYER. By *John J. Duff*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1960. Pp. viii, 433. \$7.50.) Mr. Duff has written the most comprehensive and most satisfactory study to date of Abraham Lincoln's career at the bar, a career that extended over a period of twenty-three years. The author estimates that, despite the fact that many records of Mr. Lincoln's practice have been removed from courthouses by eager and conscienceless autograph enthusiasts, "there is to be found today, in public documents, private diaries and the gamut of primary and secondary sources, fifty percent more material on Lincoln as a circuit lawyer than was available" to earlier writers on that single aspect of his lawyer's life. These sources he has rigorously examined and, as a consequence, he has been able to dispel and destroy the occasional misconceptions of his predecessors. But Duff has by no means limited himself to recounting Lincoln's arguments before state and local tribunals; on the contrary, he has extended the story to include his appearances as advocate before the federal bench. Carefully and successfully avoiding legalistic prose, Duff has, instead, produced an authoritative work in a style, sometimes repetitive, but generally comprehensible and attractive to the layman. Despite its concentration upon the calling from which he drew his livelihood, and by any rules or standards that may be applied, *A. Lincoln: Prairie Lawyer*, thoroughly documented, must be admitted to the small and select company of really significant works which his personality and progress have evoked.

Washington, D. C.

DAVID C. MEARNES

PATTERNS FROM THE SOD: LAND USE AND TENURE IN THE GRAND PRAIRIE, 1850-1900. By *Margaret Beattie Bogue*. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume XXXIV. Land Series, Volume I.] (Springfield: the Library. 1959. Pp. 327. \$2.50.) The author here presents a history of the origins, management, and disposal of landholdings in the Grand Prairie region of Illinois. The area studied in the period 1850 to 1900 was limited to eight east central Illinois counties: Kankakee, Livingston, Iroquois, Ford, McLean, Piatt, Champaign, and Vermillion. The story begins with a large influx of settlers before the depression of 1857. An even larger migration came in the 1860's and 1870's, though land sales were larger in the 1850's and 1860's. The 1857 panic brought disaster to the most precariously financed of the large holdings. An important number of the estates were used primarily for livestock enterprises. A smaller group of landowners controlling more than 140,000 acres endeavored to develop their land intensively as the smaller farmers were doing. Partially be-

cause they had capital, they were able through experiments to make larger contributions to the economic development of the region. Although these eight counties experienced tremendous growth in productive capacity and wealth in the years studied, there were serious problems to be solved. Among these were the need of fencing and drainage. Osage orange hedge offered a solution to one of these, while drainage districts and ditches financed by the farmers aided in solving the other. A less successful experiment was that of raising wheat in the years before 1857. Before 1870 the smaller farm dominated the area. During the depression of 1873, however, and the exceptionally wet seasons from 1875 to 1878, the smaller units seemed to have less success than the farms from one hundred to 499 acres. Higher land prices and more intensive farming may have contributed to this result. Many farmers left Illinois to go farther west. Tenancy, although harshly criticized, changed from a temporary arrangement to a permanent feature which filled the needs of tenants and landlords as well. Leases prescribed the duties of the tenants regarding improvements and upkeep. The land agent brought in eastern capital and helped to develop the region. Loans financed original purchases as well as additional tracts which were added to the original farms. The author handled her topic very skillfully, and the contribution of her volume is larger than the area studied, but it is intensive rather than extensive. The book seems to be a part of the literature emanating from the teaching of Paul W. Gates.

Indiana University

JOHN BARNHART

ITALO-AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1861-1882: THE MISSION OF GEORGE PERKINS MARSH, FIRST AMERICAN MINISTER TO THE KINGDOM OF ITALY. By *Mary Philip Trauth, S.N.D.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1958. Pp. xvii, 190.) In the introduction the author describes this published version of her dissertation as "an inaugural attempt at a detailed exposition of the major aspects of Italo-American diplomatic relations from 1861 . . . to 1882." That these relations were of no dramatic consequence to international power politics is indicated by the topics examined. They deal with such matters as military service during the Civil War by Italian subjects, claims arbitration, postal conventions, commerce and navigation, immigration and naturalization, and the like. Relatively little has been written about them, and the author should be commended for contributing to the written record of American diplomatic relations. The monograph suffers from very serious limitations, suggested already by the brevity of the study. Although attention has been centered on Marsh, evidently no effort was made to use the very rich source of private papers of the scholar-diplomat in the Wilbur Library at the University of Vermont. This collection, unfortunately overlooked by the sleuths of the *Harvard Guide to American History*, was known to the author through the work of Dr. David Lowenthal, the very able biographer of Marsh. The reviewer is also distressed to find that the quite excellent coverage of official American documentary sources is not at all complemented by a like exploitation of the Italian depositories. A *compte rendu* of Italo-American diplomatic relations is still outstanding.

University of Colorado

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

JOHN PALMER USHER: LINCOLN'S SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR. By *Elmo R. Richardson* and *Alan W. Farley*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1960. Pp. 152. \$3.50.) This short biography fills a gap in the history of Lincoln's administration and explains why Usher has remained unknown. A native of New York State, he moved to Terre Haute, Indiana, in his early twenties and established a successful law practice. Physically attractive, energetic, and able, he made many friends and achieved some importance in political and business circles. During the political upheavals

of the 1850's he turned Republican and in the 1860 convention supported Lincoln, who later named him Assistant Secretary and then Secretary of the Interior. His administration was marked by good sense, moderation, and fairness. A major defect was a bias in favor of the Kansas railroad, one of the five branches of the Pacific railroad projects authorized by Congress in the 1860's. When he left office in 1865 he became general solicitor for the Kansas railroad and continued in this work until his retirement in 1887. For the amount of research involved, the book is a disappointment. If the authors had treated the events and persons important in Usher's career more thoroughly, they could have made a substantial contribution. They have, however, illuminated the work of the Department of the Interior and written another chapter in the history of the land-grant railroads.

Lafayette College

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

THE FALL OF RICHMOND. By *Rembert W. Patrick*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 144. \$4.00.) In this book Professor Patrick relates the history of Richmond's evacuation, fall, and first day of occupation. To do so he assembles into one fast-moving story the accounts he has found in newspapers, diaries, reminiscences, letters, and official documents. It is evident that he has exercised critical care in determining what to believe in these accounts, and he has absolutely minimized the risk of being deceived by exaggeration, prejudice, or faulty memories. The book is well written throughout and quite exciting in the sections describing the fire and the riot. They occurred between the evacuation and the surrender. However it may have been in Columbia, the author makes it clear that in Richmond the fire was started by Confederate officials. Their purpose was to prevent supplies from falling into enemy hands, but their fire destroyed almost twenty city blocks. Patrick believes that deserters from Lee's army, slaves, and "poor white trash" looted the town and "undoubtedly fired many buildings." Yankee troops extinguished the fire despite the fact that every firehose in Richmond had been chopped into pieces. No one, including Patrick, appears able to prove who did that.

University of Florida

GEORGE R. BENTLEY

LINCOLN'S PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION. By *William B. Hesseltine*. [Confederate Centennial Studies, Number 13.] (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Confederate Publishing Company. 1960. Pp. 154.) This short book, originally prepared as a series of lectures for delivery at Memphis State University, is a study of reconstruction measures and plans to the death of Lincoln. Examining the "myth" that if Lincoln had lived Reconstruction would have been wonderfully different, Professor Hesseltine persuasively suggests that while the President's flexible and compassionate approach offered the best hope of a true reconciliation, its success was far from certain. Every one of a half-dozen lines of action explored by Lincoln (including the famous 10 per cent plan) ended in failure, so that Booth's bullet probably found him "without a plan of reconstruction." Yet if Lincoln had failed to work out an acceptable program for reconstruction of the South, he had succeeded, says Hesseltine, in reconstructing the nation along lines that bore little resemblance to the old federal Union. Here the author returns to the theme of his earlier book, *Lincoln and the War Governors*. Although his forceful arguments cannot be brushed aside, they are frequently stated in language too extreme to be taken seriously. He maintains that Lincoln, who triumphed over the northern as well as the southern states and forged a consolidated nation in the fires of civil war, was essentially "a revolutionary leader," while Jefferson Davis was the would-be conservator of the "ancient system." Furthermore, the Lincoln-led revolution "destroyed forever the . . . rights of the state governments and, in the process, destroyed as well many of the ancient rights of free men which the states had been dedicated to defend." Such an

interpretation exaggerates the constitutional impact of the Civil War and oversimplifies the long and complex process of political nationalization. It also ignores the fact that Lincoln's view of reconstruction did not contemplate the great changes in the federal system symbolized by the Fourteenth Amendment. The author's pungent judgments, nevertheless, provoke thought, and his thorough scholarship commands respect.

Stanford University

D. E. FEHRENBACHER

THE ROAD TO VIRGINIA CITY: THE DIARY OF JAMES KNOX POLK MILLER. Edited by *Andrew F. Rolle*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 30.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 143. \$3.75.) Beginning in 1864 at the age of nineteen, Miller recorded his travels from Chicago to Salt Lake City to Virginia City, Montana, and back via the Missouri River to St. Louis, and then to New York. As neatly edited by Mr. Rolle, the volume ends in 1867. Miller is better than most frontier diarists about the details of travel "on the Plains" in a mule train, on foot, by stagecoach, and aboard steamboat. He makes an original contribution to our knowledge of life—as seen by a bachelor Gentile businessman—in the Mormon capital and in "the [Virginia] City." He gives notable close-ups of Elder Heber Kimball, the acknowledged killer Bill Hickman, the Virginia City merchant John S. Rockfellow, and descriptions of commercial and cultural beginnings in Montana.

Los Angeles City College

RICHARD G. LILLARD

HEALTH SEEKERS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, 1870-1900. By *John E. Baur*. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino, Calif.: the Library. 1959. Pp. xiii, 202. \$4.50.) A major reason why California has been historically significant is that it has attracted people in large numbers. They have migrated for many reasons: to enjoy a balmy climate, to buy real estate, and to profit from an expanding frontier economy. John Baur now analyzes another fundamental reason why people moved west, to improve their health. His careful and thorough study indicates that this was a significant factor in population migration, of more importance than has generally been assumed. The author discusses the building of a "health legend" through advertising, the construction of sanitariums and other facilities as features of new town developments, and the establishment of the climate, mineral springs, and a rural way of life as popular cure-alls. He describes the people who came either wholly or partly for health reasons, and includes such individuals as Charles F. Lummis, Harry Chandler, and Helena Modjeska in this category. He analyzes the problems that ensued, such as the overpopulation of unskilled white-collar workers, when what the region most needed was heavy labor and industrial development. Finally he describes the growing interest of government in health problems, beginning with the establishment of the State Board of Health in 1870. California was opened to migration from the Middle West and East at a time when medical science was primitive enough to overemphasize geographical location as a remedy, and the tendency of the American people to fall victim to nostrums, quackery, and unproved amateur techniques also contributed to the growing national conviction that if one were ill, California was a good place to go. The chief reservation concerning the study is that one might come away from it feeling that health seekers constituted the bulk of the migrants to California. And there are occasional assumptions that need further proof, such as that indicating that the migration and boom of 1887 resulted chiefly from a severe eastern winter. The negative features, however, are minor; the author has well and thoroughly utilized difficult historical material and has competently surveyed vast quantities of ephemeral literature of the period. A good bibliography and an index combine to help make this volume a worthy addition to California history.

San Francisco State College

GLENN S. DUMKE

BASEBALL: THE EARLY YEARS. By *Harold Seymour*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 373. \$7.50.) As the description on the jacket of this book states, it is not another history of players' exploits and batting averages but a serious study of the game both in the business offices and on the field. The titles of the four parts of the book give a good indication of the ground covered: "The Amateur Era," "Baseball Becomes a Business," "Organized Baseball," and "Monopoly at Its Apex." The first part deals with the origins and development of the game and the activities of the National Association of Professional Baseball Players through the year 1875. The second part treats the founding of the National League in 1876 and the financial problems that grew out of making the professional game pay as a business. Among these were salaries, discipline, and the reserve clause. The third part concerns rival organizations that attempted to compete with the National League and with bitter owner-player clashes. The fourth part describes vividly the highhanded actions of the National League owners during their years of monopoly under the twelve team league of 1892 to 1899 and with the successful fight made by the American League from 1901 to 1903 to become a permanent and equal rival of the older league. Sections of the book vary in appeal to different types of readers. Both historians and ordinary baseball fans will enjoy the chapters on the amateur era. Adherents of the American League will be delighted with the tribute in Part IV paid to its real founder and first president, Ban Johnson, and with the account of his achievements in raising the standards of the game above the sordid level that the National League permitted during the 1890's. For those today who are planning to invest in a new major league or in a new professional football league, Parts II and III should be compulsory reading. On the whole Parts I and IV are superior to II and III. The contention stated on the jacket that baseball "has always mirrored the economic and social growth of America" does not receive sufficient attention in the second and third parts, except for the chapter on the reserve clause. If a brief description at the beginning of several of the chapters had been given of typical practices in other businesses during the age of the robber barons, many of those in baseball would be seen in the proper setting. Short summaries at the end of Parts II and III of the features that were common to most businesses and those unique in baseball would have made a good book even better.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

HISTORY OF HUMBLE OIL & REFINING COMPANY: A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. By *Henrietta M. Larson* and *Kenneth Wiggins Porter*. [Prepared under the auspices of the Business History Foundation, Inc.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 769. \$7.50.) Two volumes of the somewhat revisionist history of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) under the aegis of the Business History Foundation have appeared in the past five years; a third is imminent. In many respects this *History of Humble Oil & Refining Company*, under way since 1948, could easily be called a fourth volume of that series, for Jersey Standard not only holds a majority of Humble stock but provided Jersey capital and early technical direction to help erect the Texas oil company as an operating affiliate. The Humble story is basically a Texas narrative. Though it stretched itself from Florida's Everglades to Mexico's *tierra caliente* and Alaska's Frigidaire when it became the nation's largest crude oil producer, its founders and its administrators through the years have tended to be either native or adopted Texans, usually without being cursed by that brand of Texan parochialism that makes most mature-minded Texans cringe. The most memorable features of the Humble story are twofold: the change in top administrative personnel from haphazard promoters-bankers-drillers who worked their way up through a combination of practical experience, opportunism, and native, intuitive shrewdness to the more nearly con-

temporary corporation lawyer and on to the present-day college-trained geologist and economist; the early and continuing understanding of the need for conservation of resources in an industry that was essentially waste-minded and believed in an eternal golden horn. In a day when wells blew high, oil ran everywhere, and wells were drilled with their derrick bases overlapping, Humble officials worried about the depletion of their supply and refused to accept the generally held belief that there would always be plenty of petroleum for everyone. Their constant pressure was a major reason that the Texas Railroad Commission metamorphosed from just another railroad regulatory body into perhaps the most powerful state regulatory body in the United States, as the nation learned during the recent crisis over Suez. This book has only minor flaws. No notice is taken of the influence of the petroleum industry in general, and Humble in particular, in determining the tax structure of Texas; in prescribing mores or more-or-less intellectual outlooks; in influencing educational policy at both lower and higher levels; and in infusing state and national politicians with the "proper" attitudes. This lack, however, is pointed out more in a spirit of waggishness than through any desire to downgrade a solid performance, for one would hardly expect such an approach in a book written from company records. Professors Larson and Porter cover all facets of how to build a regional oil promotion into a major, integrated, and enlightened petroleum producer and distributor. My Texas bias may be showing, but this volume is the best written and most interesting of any of the "Standard" series to appear thus far.

University of Texas

JOE B. FRANTZ

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. By *Stefan Lorant*. (New York: Doubleday and Company. 1959. Pp. 640. \$15.00.) Mr. Lorant has combined a massive pictorial history of Theodore Roosevelt and his times with a sizeable written text. There are 750 pictures, cartoons, diaries, and letters, among other illustrations, balanced evenly except for the first twenty-two years between "life" and "times." The effort enlivens history and conveys a freshness and immediacy of events that words alone frequently lack. No selection of either text or pictures can fail to interpret, and the interpretation here is popularly fashionable, but superficial. For the most part, the analysis follows the character of the cartoons by bringing virtue, personified by the President, into a world of evil to purge the country of its ills. Scarcely 20 per cent of the volume concerns the presidential administrations, and for these years, as well as for the rest of the book, the pictures stress the outward and spectacular rather than the dynamics of social structure or Roosevelt's complex personality. Perhaps one should not be too preoccupied with the impact of a book like this. The mid-twentieth-century vogue of history for the masses at gilt-edged prices could be taken simply as a phenomenon to be observed curiously, rather than to be considered seriously. And yet one cannot fail to ponder, with some concern, the obfuscation of the nature of our society which such efforts perpetuate.

State University of Iowa

SAMUEL P. HAYS

TAYLORISM AT WATERTOWN ARSENAL: SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN ACTION, 1908-1915. By *Hugh G. J. Aitken*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 269. \$5.75.) A case study can be valuable only if it analyzes as well as describes. In this case study of "scientific management in action," Aitken provides much more than mere description partly because he is clear about what he is trying to do and partly because he is willing to apply all he can learn from the economist, sociologist, and psychologist. Through his "experiment in historical reconstruction" Aitken sets out to gain "understanding of the behavior and attitudes of the participants" and to understand "what these men did not understand, see what they

did not see, and find meaning in what they found meaningless." In carrying out this task, he presents the clearest picture yet written on the nature and significance of the scientific management movement in this country and of the response of both managers and labor to it. The application of Frederick W. Taylor's ideas meant more than just the use of the stopwatch and time-motion studies. The highly rational, systematic approach to the problems of production led to the development of new tools and machinery, of changed factory design, careful planning, routing, scheduling, and above all of new techniques of cost accounting. These technical innovations created the possibility of greatly increased operating capacity. Yet they initially failed to achieve their potential because of the inability of their practitioners to see the shop as a social as well as a technical order. This blind spot and the unsophisticated assumption that men were primarily motivated by financial self-interest brought conflict. In this controversy, which eventually reached the floors of Congress, the use of the stopwatch and time-motion study became the issue. As is so often the case, the fight was over symbols and symptoms and not the underlying challenges and responses. As each side made up its mind about the causes and issues, each became incapable of rationally evaluating the more basic problems. Such evaluation then becomes an essential function of the historian. Surely he cannot carry out this responsibility if he identifies himself with either side and even less if he says only that there is much to be said on both sides. Aitken, in doing neither, successfully achieves his aim of making clear what happened and why as Taylorism was introduced at the Watertown Arsenal. Anyone interested in the rationalizing of production in the United States, the impact of engineering education and training on American management, or the interaction of ideas, institutions, and personalities should read this book. So also should the historian who would like to make his own special field or "case study" of value and interest to other than fellow specialists working in the same area.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR.

ROOSEVELT AND MODERN AMERICA. By *John A. Woods*. [Teach Yourself History.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 192. \$2.50.) In this volume, one of an extensive British series of short histories centering on the lives of great men, Professor Woods summarizes and assesses the main events in the career of Franklin Roosevelt. The first two chapters bring FDR to the White House. Chapters III-VIII deal with domestic affairs to 1938. Chapters IX-XI treat foreign policy and World War II. A final chapter concludes that, for all its shortcomings and contradictions, the Roosevelt record is impressive indeed. "The primary effect of the New Deal," writes Woods, "was to ensure a wider distribution of wealth, and of the war to create more wealth to distribute." He has no patience with the revisionist views of Roosevelt's foreign policy, and indeed holds that FDR is perhaps open to criticism for not having moved more quickly toward intervention. Woods's style is forthright, crisp, and effective. Thus Harold Ickes was a man "in whom honesty almost wore the appearance of a vice," and Wendell Willkie "showed extraordinary vigour coupled with a gift for saying the wrong thing." In a work as compressed as this, one inevitably finds points to dispute. Upton Sinclair's EPIC plan scarcely deserves dismissal with a single quote from George Creel, nor can Jim Farley have been "the leading contender for the succession" in 1940. There are no footnotes, but the diligent reader can find major sources listed at the front. Suggestions for further reading, briefly annotated, are at the rear. A work of synthesis rather than original scholarship, it is in some ways the best brief introduction to the era of FDR yet to be done.

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

MILITARY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 1939-1945. By *Stanley W. Dziuban*. [U. S. Army in World War II: Special Studies.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xv, 432.) This original and valuable study—first written as a Columbia University thesis—is an important contribution to the study of Canadian-American relations and to the literature of the Second World War. Very little authentic material has been published concerning military cooperation between Canada and the United States before and after Pearl Harbor, chiefly, perhaps, because the relationship of the two countries, though vastly important to both of them, lacked the drama of more active phases of the war. Colonel Dziuban's volume goes a long way toward filling the gap. It tells only one side of the story. The author was given full access to "the pertinent official U. S. records," but has not attempted to use Canadian records, "excepting insofar as they were in the public domain or were to be found in files of U. S. agencies." A full evaluation must await the publication of a parallel Canadian study. Within these limits, Dziuban deserves all praise. His research was extensive, his narrative is well organized, and his commentary is objective. The relationship that he describes was unique and in many ways difficult. He says, "Canada's status as a British Commonwealth nation and the joint U. S.-United Kingdom direction of global war strategy emerge as two basic complicating factors"; another was the great disparity between the two partners in population and resources. Canada felt obliged to guard her sovereignty with care, and Americans did not always respect either her sovereignty or her susceptibilities. The author tends to censure his country's prolonged unwillingness to accept a Canadian military mission in Washington; and he accurately reports a Canadian feeling that the United States services, "whose attitude throughout had been that Canada was a nuisance and had much better be treated as a part of Britain," abetted Churchill's attempt to speak on all occasions in the name of the whole Commonwealth. There was considerable half-concealed friction in Newfoundland, and Dziuban's examination of the evidence leads him to speak of "the Canadian determination to retain the predominant role on the Newfoundland defense scene and to limit the U. S. role." Considerable attention is directed to the failure of the United States in 1941 to obtain Canadian agreement to United States "strategic direction" in ABC-22, the joint "defence" plan then under consideration; ultimately, the Americans reluctantly accepted command by "mutual co-operation." Canada had been prepared to accept United States strategic direction in a plan intended to meet circumstances in which Nazi Germany was in control of the British Isles and threatening North America, but she would not accept it in connection with a plan that was essentially offensive. Internal evidence indicates that the book was completed about 1953, and only the bibliography was substantially revised later. There are some errors of detail on Canadian matters, but they do not seriously affect the value of this significant book.

University of Toronto

C. P. STACEY

THEIR MAJESTIES THE MOB. By *John W. Caughey*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 214. \$5.00.) The author of *Their Majesties the Mob* set out to write an advocate's brief for due process and he has put together a number of historical narratives that make a formidable argument against mob violence. He sees vigilantism as "a group action in lieu of regular justice." It is hard to crowd some of his examples into that framework. The cases in which ordinary citizens without any sanction of law worked their will upon individuals and the cases in which constituted authority moved unjustly or mistakenly seem to be of a different order. Though there are times when constituted authority behaves with a vindictiveness and a meanness of spirit reminiscent of the mob, to put legislative, judicial, and executive error into the

same category with murder and mayhem undertaken wholly outside the law seems to be stretching definitions too far. The Palmer raids, the Japanese evacuation, the Oppenheimer case, and a number of actions by the House Un-American Activities Committee lack some of the attributes of vigilantism, and however they are otherwise to be reproached, can hardly be classed with lynchings. To this extent, the book proves too much. The errors of government and the crimes of the mob sometimes may spring alike from the ugly human impulse to impose punishment and retribution, but these otherwise differing defects do not belong in a single category.

Washington, D. C.

J. R. WIGGINS

COMMUNISM IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By *David J. Saposs*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 259. \$5.00.) Based mostly upon reports and hearings of the Subversive Activities Control Board, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and state legislative investigations, this book describes the role of the Communist party in the politics of Washington, California, Minnesota, and New York in the 1930's and in the Progressive party of 1948 and thereafter. It ends with a sketchy account of the turmoil within the Communist party that followed Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in February 1956. The author hopes the book will "realert the American people toward the menace of Communism." A generation of scholars in the history of labor and the Left has learned to respect the work of David Saposs, and in this book he has again made useful contributions. The chapter on Communists in Washington state politics in the 1930's includes considerable information heretofore unavailable in secondary accounts. The chapters on the Wallace movement are the strongest, particularly in their description of CIO opposition to Wallace. The treatment of the Communist position on a third party from late 1945 until the fall of 1947 would have been clearer if it had made the point that at that time Communist agitation for a third party did not necessarily mean support for a national third ticket, and he fails to point out the importance of Zhdanov's speech to the September 1947 conference in Poland that founded the Cominform. The American Communists actually did not decide upon a third ticket until after that speech. The volume's style and organization obscure its merits. Quotations, many of them from secondary sources, are excessive. One quotation from an SACB document runs for four uninterrupted pages. Saposs' decision to relate the whole career of the New York American Labor party from birth in 1936 to dissolution in 1956 before he described the Communists' reversal of line in 1945 or their Progressive party adventure leaves the ALP treatment without its necessary background. Persistent students of recent politics, however, will find they can use this book with profit.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID A. SHANNON

THE TRUMAN-MACARTHUR CONTROVERSY AND THE KOREAN WAR. By *John W. Spanier*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 311. \$6.50.) The man who writes very recent history can expect to know little of the savor of manuscript materials or the delights of needling established historical interpretations. He can, however, enjoy his own special kind of accomplishments and these Mr. John Spanier has certainly achieved in his study of the Truman-MacArthur controversy. He has gone through the tremendous mass of printed materials thoroughly and with imagination. Using his sources in a hardheaded way, he has clarified the issues in a debate that was notable for its frenetic confusion. And Spanier emerges from his study with a question that is decidedly important for present-day America. Structurally, the book is an account of the Korean War from its beginning in June 1950 to the end of the MacArthur congressional hearings in July 1951. Spanier

moves through this tangled story with a cool detachment which, on the one hand, confirms President Truman's wisdom in removing General MacArthur and, on the other hand, makes it plain that the administration was hardly at its best in the handling either of the redoubtable general or of a bewildered and frightened public opinion. The contributions of the volume are particularly notable in its treatment of the decision to cross the thirty-eighth parallel and its analysis of MacArthur's "end-the-war" offensive of November 1950. But here, as throughout the book, the decision to put footnotes, which not only give a greater sense of reality to the text but sometimes contain highly interesting additions, at the rear of the volume annoys the reader. Throughout the book Spanier builds to his climactic consideration: In the modern world, just how reliable is the way most Americans think about the proper relation between the civil and the military? The tradition is clearly that the civil is to be supreme. At the present time only limited wars are likely to raise the issue, but in a full-scale war nobody would be left to quarrel over the general vs. the President. Does not the Truman-MacArthur controversy strongly suggest that a limited war, with its enormous frustrations, is precisely the kind of war that would cause a large—and perhaps decisive—segment of the population to follow a general who calls for all-out techniques for a total victory?

Princeton University ERIC F. GOLDMAN

LATIN AMERICA

ESPAÑA EN AMÉRICA: EL RÉGIMEN DE TIERRAS EN LA ÉPOCA COLONIAL. By J. M. Ots Capdequí. [Sección de Obras de Historia.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1959. Pp. 145.) The dominant form of land tenure in Spanish America since the sixteenth century has been that of latifundia. The socioeconomic and political consequences of this fact have been momentous during the last five centuries. And yet our knowledge of the origins and development of patterns of land tenure in the colonial period is sketchy and inadequate. François Chevalier's *La Formation des Grand Domaines au Mexique* is one of the outstanding exceptions to this general rule. The present book begins to fill partially this vacuum. It contains a careful analysis of the major legislative efforts of the Spanish crown in the granting of land titles. The principal varieties of land tenure are included: individuals, municipalities, communal ownership, grazing tracts, and subsoil rights. The period covered begins with Columbus and ends with the Cortes of Cadiz and Ferdinand VII. Considerable attention is focused on the growth of latifundia. As a study in the juridical foundation of Spanish land policy this book probably will not be surpassed for some time. But the limitations of the juridical approach should also be stressed. The gap between the law and its observance in the Indies was wide and deep. Patterns of land tenure, furthermore, did not develop in a socioeconomic vacuum. In addition to the legal framework we need a vast amount of data on social, economic, intellectual, and political conditions as well as some understanding of regional variations. The kind of demographic information Cook, Simpson, and Borah are collecting for colonial Mexico, for example, will illuminate the development of land tenure in that region. Ots Capdequí has made an outstanding contribution in clarifying the juridical basis of colonial land tenure patterns. Let us hope that in future studies he will broaden and intensify his approach to take into account social and economic conditions.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

JOHN L. PHELAN

HISTORIA DE LA CAPITAL DE PUERTO RICO. Volume I; Volume II, MONUMENTOS, RELIQUIAS E INSIGNIAS HISTÓRICAS. By F. M. Zeno. [Publicación Oficial del Gobierno de la Capital.] ([San Juan: Oficina de Actividades Culturales,

Gobierno de la Capital. 1959.] Pp. xxvi, 498; xiv, 240.) San Juan, the capital of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, is the oldest city under the flag of the United States. Its history of over 450 years is the topic of Zeno's volume. The second volume treats the monuments, public buildings, and other items of historical importance related to the city. The general historical account of San Juan follows in fairly close fashion the well-known lines laid down by past and present historians of Puerto Rico. Alejandro Tapia y Rivera and Salvador Brau are quoted quite liberally, and various documents from Coll y Toste's *Boletín Histórico* are reproduced in full. Little attention, except to correct, is paid to the excellent *Ciudad Morada* of Adolfo de Hostos who was Zeno's predecessor as municipal historian of San Juan. No use was made in either volume of the original research being done by Father Vicente Murga in the Archives of the Indies and published by the University of Puerto Rico in recent years. The author has made some use, however, of the city records that are available from 1730 to the present. Several important topics such as education, city government, health, and social customs have been singled out for separate treatment. The account of the struggles to supply the city with water is the most successful. Zeno's prejudices are poorly disguised in his chapter on social customs. Quite out of place in serious history is the editorializing against the local atheneum, the eulogizing of the current fire chief, and the long history of a local bank tacked on to a chapter in the second volume dedicated to the town hall. Zeno is a late arrival to the discipline of history. As is perhaps clear from the lively text, he was a professional journalist and editor of a once important San Juan newspaper. Founded by Ponce de León, besieged by Sir Francis Drake and Hawkins, and host to the imprisoned Francisco Miranda, San Juan's history deserves more professional treatment than that accorded to it by this governmental publication. The text is enhanced by excellent illustrations and photographs.

Mayagüez, Puerto Rico

THOMAS MATHEWS

THE POPULATION OF CENTRAL MEXICO IN 1548: AN ANALYSIS OF THE *SUMA DE VISITAS DE PUEBLOS*. By Woodrow Borah and S. F. Cook. [Ibero-Americana, Number 43.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. 215. \$5.00.) The *Suma de visitas* in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, published by Paso y Troncoso in 1905, is a compilation of reports concerning approximately 850 Mexican towns, with information on status, size, population, tribute, agriculture, and many other subjects. Borah and Cook present an outline of this material. Their main attention is given to the dating of the manuscript and to the implications of its population figures. By a comparison of known tributes, they successfully date the *Suma* populations at 1547-1551 and principally at 1548. In my opinion they demonstrate conclusively that the tributary population figures of the *Suma* are to be understood according to the classification of tributaries in the 1540's and hence are not directly comparable to later tributary statistics. Classes of the population that were exempt from tribute in 1548 were included in later counts, and a recorded increase is therefore compatible with a real decline. The work includes a sophisticated discussion of *visita* procedure and of statistical relations between partial and whole populations. Using more refined techniques than Cook and Simpson in 1948, Borah and Cook arrive at a figure of 7,817,000 for the population of 1548, whereas the Cook and Simpson estimate was 6,427,466 (plus several hundred thousand for Nueva Galicia). The estimate of larger population depends, however, on an arithmetical error of one million. The appropriate correction yields a figure only slightly different from that of Cook and Simpson. But the method of arriving at this figure is significantly different, for instance, in the use of 3.3 rather than 4.0 for the conversion of tributaries to total population. The

Cook and Simpson toponymic locations have also been improved, though there are still remnant errors as in the Hidalgo towns of *Visita LXXXI*.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

COLECCIÓN DE DOCUMENTOS RELATIVOS A LA HISTORIA DE LAS ISLAS MALVINAS. Volume I. Introduction by *Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois*. [Documentos para la historia argentina, Number 25. Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani."] (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires. [1959.] Pp. 383.) This significant collection of documents of an important era of Argentine history was directed by the late Emilio Ravignani and was almost completed when he resigned from the directorship of the institute that now bears his name. Completion of the work could not have fallen into more capable hands than those of Ricardo Caillet-Bois, present director of the institute and author of the excellent book *Una tierra argentina, las Islas Malvinas*, who also wrote the succinct explanatory historical introduction to the collection. The first volume covers the period 1746-1766. The documents, each in its original language, are copied exactly and edited in the careful manner so characteristic of the institute's publications. Although there is no word index, the volume contains a helpful one of the documents in chronological order. We can only hope for the prompt appearance of the other documents already collected for this valuable contribution to Argentine history.

University of Colorado

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN

THE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO, AS AFFECTED BY THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN MEXICO, 1925-1929. By *Sister M. Elizabeth Ann Rice, O.P.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 224. \$2.50.) This book is a Ph.D. thesis, with all the shortcomings that fact implies. It is unfortunate that so many universities require or encourage the publication of theses when the overwhelming majority of graduate students are simply not ready to write publishable material. In this instance the student, Sister Mary Elizabeth Ann Rice, has taken a topic far beyond her present ability. Given another two or three years of intensive work, she would have produced a creditable book. But this is not it. There is not a single Mexican source cited in the footnotes or the bibliography. How a student who seems to be unfamiliar with the Spanish language would be permitted to write on this topic is beyond my comprehension. After all, diplomatic history involves more than the records, written in English, that happen to be in the National Archives in Washington. Since she must rely upon other American diplomatic historians who also may know no Spanish, it is not surprising that her work is marred by serious errors, not only of fact, but of interpretation. And there seems to be no rhyme or reason to the accents sprinkled liberally and indiscriminately on Spanish names or words (e.g., Orózco, Chamórro, Estráda, and even Orozco and Duraño). I would have thought that someone between the original typist and the final proofreaders would have thought to check these. Nor does the author seem to be acquainted with the political history of the United States during these years. She cites, for example, a dispatch of a French diplomat in Mexico when documenting an event in Washington. Sister Mary Elizabeth is to be commended for having made extensive use of the State Department files in the National Archives and the Morrow papers. She demonstrates conclusively, moreover, the important role of Morrow in helping bring a religious peace to Mexico. It is a halting start, though not more than that, toward a comprehensive study of the interaction of American diplomacy and the Church-state struggle in Mexico.

Indiana University

ROBERT E. QUIRK

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General

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Moses Coit Tyler Prize will again be offered in 1961. The terms of the award have been broadened and the prize (fifteen hundred dollars plus publication by the Cornell University Press) is now for the best book-length manuscript in English on the social, cultural, or intellectual history, including biography, of the United States. Literary merit will be stressed. Professor Stow Persons of the State University of Iowa is chairman of the Tyler Prize Committee. Manuscripts must be submitted by June 1, 1961.

The *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* will again be published in 1961. The *List* is now compiled by Dr. William Lloyd Fox. All titles of doctoral dissertations in history should be sent to him at 400 A Street, S. E., as soon as the titles are officially approved by the departments and major advisers. A running file of topics is always kept. During the spring, departments will be asked for complete lists.

Advance copies of the new *American Historical Association Guide to Historical Literature* may be on display during the 1960 meeting of the Association in New York. The manuscript went to the Macmillan Company last March and has been in the hands of printers, proofreaders, and indexer since May. It is scheduled for formal publication early in 1961. The new *Guide* will contain more titles and more condensed appraisals than its predecessor which appeared in 1931. It pays proportionately more attention to the history of Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The level at which all major fields of history and related subjects are covered is appropriate for doctoral candidates and teachers. There will be approximately eleven hundred double-column pages, organized as eight topical and thirty-two regional sections and major subsections. The index will contain place names and a few leading topics as well as authors. The Board of Editors estimates that material was supplied by fifty editors and coeditors of sections, eighteen contributors to the earlier *Guide*, and 170 others. The price has not yet been set, but it is certain that the publisher will be able to allow members to subscribe and obtain single copies at a substantial reduction. Subscriptions will be invited later this fall.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received as the gift of Mrs. Carr the personal papers of Wilbur J. Carr (1870-1942), "father of the American foreign service," Assistant Secretary of State, and minister to Czechoslovakia. Numbering about five thousand pieces, the papers reflect Mr. Carr's nearly half a century of service with the Department of State, and they contain interesting material for the years after his retirement in 1939. They are composed of correspondence, speeches, notes,

articles, and, of special historical interest, Mr. Carr's diaries for the years 1896-1942.

The papers of Henry Prather Fletcher (1873-1959) have been received by the Library at his bequest. These date from 1898 to 1958 and touch upon nearly every phase of Mr. Fletcher's career, during which he represented this country in Chile, Mexico, Belgium, and Italy and at several international conferences (1909-1929), served as chairman of the United States Tariff Commission (1930-1931) and, successively, as chairman, general counsel, and member of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee (1934-1944). Approximately half of the Fletcher papers relates to Republican party strategy in the 1920's and 1930's.

Justice William O. Douglas has presented to the Library a first installment of some 3,600 of his personal papers. The material thus far received includes correspondence, memoranda, reports, and related printed matter concerning the years 1936-1939, when he was chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Similarly, Joseph P. Tumulty, Jr., has given a first installment of the papers of his father, who was private secretary to Woodrow Wilson from 1910 to 1921. The approximately 2,200 items in this group consist mainly of correspondence Mr. Tumulty exchanged with President Wilson, Robert Bridges, Cary T. Grayson, Edward M. House, and others. The papers date from 1910 to 1920, with the greatest number in the period 1914-1919. The Douglas and the Tumulty papers may be consulted only by special permission, which may be requested through the Chief of the Library's Manuscript Division.

Microfilm reproductions of the Library's holdings of papers of eight Presidents of the United States—James Monroe, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, Zachary Taylor, Franklin Pierce, Abraham Lincoln, Chester A. Arthur, and Grover Cleveland—have been completed as a result of a program made possible by special appropriation. An index to the Taylor Papers has been published in book form, and similar indexes to the Lincoln and the Harrison Papers are soon to be published.

The National Archives has recently received several bodies of records pertaining to labor. Among them are records of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and its predecessors, 1884-1939, which are essential sources for research on the programs, policies, and operations of the agencies, particularly in the key area of statistical policy, from the late nineteenth century through the early New Deal years. Other records on labor include general subject files, case files, and technical reports of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and its predecessor, the United States Conciliation Service, 1913-1949, and all the records of the Presidential Board of Inquiry appointed in October 1959 to study the labor dispute and strike in the steel industry. Among other recent accessions are records of the Supreme Court, consisting of records of the Clerk, 1790-1909, and of the Marshal, 1867-1909, and records of prize cases heard on appeal by committees of the Continental Congress, 1776-1780, and by the Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture, 1780-1786; and records of the USSR Section of the Office of Eastern European Affairs, State Department, 1917-1941, relating to internal economic and political developments in the Soviet Union and Soviet relations with the United States and other countries. Newly acquired photographic records include six thousand photographs made or collected by the Division of Rubber Investigations of the Bureau of Plant

Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering, 1942-1948, showing the production of rubber in Central and South America for use in the war, and 45,000 photographs made by the Air Transport Command of the Army Air Forces, 1943-1945, illustrating the transportation of troops and supplies from South America to Africa and Asia.

The National Archives has issued the following preliminary inventories: no. 126, *Records of the Government of the Virgin Islands of the United States*, compiled by H. Donn Hooker; no. 127, *Records of the Headquarters, United Nations Command*, compiled by Paul Taborn and Andrew Putignano; and no. 128, *Records of the Committee for Congested Production Areas*, compiled by Leo Pascal and Jeanne McDonald. A *List of Motion Pictures and Sound Recordings in the National Archives Relating to Presidential Inaugurations*, compiled by E. Daniel Potts, comprises special list no. 16. *National Archives Accessions*, no. 55, recently published, lists the records transferred to the National Archives from July 1, 1957, to June 30, 1959. The American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents has prepared and the National Archives has published another guide to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia: no. 16, *Records of the Deutsches Ausland Institut, Stuttgart; Part I, Records on Resettlement*.

One of the most important microfilm publications to be completed by the National Archives is the Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. This publication, in 204 rolls, reproduces the Continental Congress records that were maintained by Charles Thomson, secretary of the Congress, and were transferred to the Department of State in 1789. The papers consist mainly of letters and reports received by the presidents of the Congress, copies of letters sent by the president, the secretary, and a few committees, and some transcripts of diplomatic dispatches received from United States agents abroad. The Library of Congress transferred the entire collection to the National Archives in 1952 as part of the official records of the United States government. Various card indexes, prepared by the Library of Congress, and other indexes have been reproduced on the first seven rolls of the microcopy. Other microfilm publications recently completed include the Index to the Revolutionary War Pension Application and Bounty Land Warrant Files (fifteen rolls) and to the War of 1812 Pension Application Files (102 rolls); Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from North Carolina (530 rolls); and Miscellaneous Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy (forty-one rolls). A project to publish the correspondence of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in one volume has been established. Donald Jackson will edit the volume, and the University of Illinois Press will publish it next year.

Among recent manuscript acquisitions of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library are: papers of the late Louis B. Wehle, lifelong friend of Roosevelt and personal adviser on important public issues, covering practically the entire period of Wehle's life, 1880-1958, including materials on his government service during the two world wars; the incomplete papers of Aubrey W. Williams, concerning Williams' service with various federal relief organizations and as director of the National Youth Administration, as well as his subsequent public life; and the

papers of Judge Charles Fahy, relating to Fahy's work in various legal posts in the government since 1933. These groups of papers are being processed before being made available for research.

Allan Nevins has presented "a significant portion" of his private collection to Columbia University. The gift includes letters and documents written by Theodore Roosevelt, Eli Whitney, and Henry Adams.

The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, has purchased a large collection of Civil War and western manuscripts which were assembled by Maury A. Bromsen.

A Union List of Newspapers in California Libraries, representing holdings of 175 libraries in the state, is now available for use in the Union Catalog Section of the State Library in Sacramento. Further information may be obtained from the Union Catalog Section, California State Library, Sacramento 9, California.

The Pennsylvania State Library and the Pennsylvania Library Association have announced plans for the publication of a union list of all newspapers ever published in Pennsylvania. The list, to be completed in two years, will show locations for all newspaper files known in the state.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

A Franco-American historical colloquium, sponsored by the Société d'histoire moderne and the Society for French Historical Studies, was held in Paris, July 1-3, 1960. The French organizing committee was composed of Professor Jean Baptiste Duroselle, chairman, Dr. Philippe Vigier, and Lucien Genet, secretary of the Société. The American committee was chaired by Beatrice F. Hyslop, with Durand Echeverria, George Pierson, and Louis Gottschalk as members. Approximately fifty Americans attended the sessions, and about the same number of French. The first, third, and fourth sessions were held at the Institut National des Sciences Politiques. Robert R. Palmer and Jacques Godechot shared the first program on interpretation of the French Revolution. At the second session, held at the Archives Nationales, Professor Frances Childs of Brooklyn College summarized findings on French history in American archives and libraries. She obtained the late Dr. Carl Lokke's notes and added her own knowledge. A bibliography was available the next day. At the third session, on Saturday morning, July 2, which was especially well attended, Professors Echeverria and René Remond spoke on "France Looks at America." In the afternoon, Professor Lynn M. Case talked on French influence on the Mason and Slidell affair, and Professor Claude Fohlen on the cotton trade and its social and economic repercussions in France. The final session was held at the Sorbonne, in the amphithéâtre Guizot. Eugen Weber of the University of California, Los Angeles, and Professor Duroselle discussed books published on American and French history in the twentieth century and problems of the historians of the two countries. Both the French and American historians were pleased with this first colloquium, and the Americans wish to organize a similar one to be held in the United States.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Ford Foundation has given grants to Columbia University, Harvard University, and the University of California to help establish non-Western and related international studies as part of their permanent academic programs. The Foundation has also given grants to ten American and four European institutions for educational and research programs related to foreign areas and to the processes of economic and social development.

The Council of the Humanities at Princeton University, assisted by a \$335,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, is undertaking a critical analysis and history of recent American scholarship in the humanities. About a dozen volumes, written by distinguished scholars in each field, will be published. These studies will demonstrate what humanistic scholarship has contributed to American intellectual life, what its strengths and weaknesses have been, and what tasks lie immediately ahead. Richard Schlatter is the director, and John Higham, Leonard Krieger, and Fritz Stern are among the scholars working on the project. Communications should be sent to Ford Humanities Project, 9 SM Reunion Hall, Princeton, New Jersey.

Among those recently receiving grants from the American Council of Learned Societies for research in the humanities and related social sciences are the following historians: Thomas W. Africa, Joseph O. Baylen, Louise R. Buenger, Robert E. Carlson, F. Edward Cranz, Norman A. Graebner, Richard B. Morris, Philip P. Poirier, and Richard A. Webster.

The following historians have received Social Science Research Council grants: *Research Training Fellowships*—Richard M. Abrams, Frank M. Albrecht, Jr., Henry Cohen, Charlotte D. Furth, Clarke W. Garrett, T. Richard Graham, Christopher Lasch, Lynn L. Marshall, George W. Phillips, Irwin H. Polishook, Willie L. Rose, Peter N. Stearns. *Faculty Research Fellowships*—John M. Blum, Richard M. Brace, Ernst Ekman, Eric C. Kollman, Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard, F. Wilson Smith, Bernard D. Weinryb. *Grants-in-Aid*—Walter J. Brunhumer, Nathan Miller, Robin W. Winks.

Grants for research on Latin America offered jointly by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council were awarded to George C. A. Boehrer, Lewis Hanke, John J. Johnson, Stanley J. Stein, and Mark J. Van Aken.

Among the historians receiving Guggenheim fellowships for 1960-1961 are: John Wesley Baldwin, Paul Walden Bamford, Samuel Flagg Bemis, James Hadley Billington, Gene Adam Brucker, John F. Cady, Henry Steele Commager, Vincent Paul De Santis, J. Christopher Herold, William Robert Hutchison, Georg Gerson Iggers, George Hilton Jones, Joseph C. Kiger, Albert D. Kirwan, Enno Edward Kraehe, Garrett Mattingly, William Gerald McLoughlin, Robert Douthat Meade, Henry Cord Meyer, John Preston Moore, John Leddy Phelan, David Henry Pinkney, Millicent Barton Rex, Robert Edgar Riegel, Herbert Franz Schurmann, James Morton Smith, Marion R. Tinling.

The Rockefeller Foundation has awarded grants to Cyril Black, Woodrow W. Borah, Bernard R. Crick, Charles Gibson, J. H. Hexter, Mrs. Marquis James, Robert Koehl, John T. Krause, David S. Landes, Mary Peter Mack, Morris D. Morris, Douglass C. North, Eric McKittrick, Jack R. Pole, and Benjamin I. Schwartz.

Among those receiving grants-in-aid for study at the Henry E. Huntington Library for the year beginning July 1960 are the following historians: Thomas G. Barnes, Vern L. Bullough, North Callahan, Robert Ernst, J. R. Hale, Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., and Rodman W. Paul.

The American Association of University Women has announced grants to the following women for work in history: Jo A. Daniel, Doris Dashew, Elisabeth G. Gleason, Joy J. Jackson, Barbara Jelavich, Alice P. Kenney, Virginia D. Porter, Rhoda Rappaport, and Jean Lauren Wood.

Among the eighty-three public high school teachers awarded John Hay fellowships are Nick Adzick, Alvin M. Andersen, Raymond A. Antil, Barbara L. Belanich, Raymond E. Calhoun, Elwood G. Campbell, Larry Cuban, John H. Delong, Frank Eckelt, Philip G. Farley, Joseph W. Gibson, Edward F. Goelz, Gerald L. Greer, Wilbert L. Hemeyer, Marvin L. Jaegers, Anthony B. Lampe, Mary P. Maddox, Raymond J. Marling, Paul B. Mitchell, Mellie J. Mooshie, Allan D. Pierson, Ernest D. Ramstetter, Newell C. Remington, Thomas F. Rock, Sterling C. Scott, William H. Shannon, Francis D. Smith, Ted F. Van Buren, Byron H. Walker, and William R. Young. Each fellow will receive a year's leave from his school system and will study in the humanities at one of six universities: California, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Northwestern, and Yale.

The Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America at Harvard University announces the appointment of the following research fellows for the academic year 1960-1961: Milton Berman, Rowland T. Berthoff, Daniel H. Calhoun, William G. McLoughlin, Roy Lubove, Gerald D. Nash, Yehoshua Arieli, Lawrence W. Towner, Morton G. Keller, and Michael Harris.

The National Science Foundation has awarded research grants to Erwin N. Hiebert and Robert C. Stauffer of the University of Wisconsin.

J. Fred Rippy has received the 1960 William Volker Distinguished Service Award of \$15,000.

The American Philosophical Society and the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants have awarded M. K. Dziewanowski research and travel grants.

To stimulate the writing of history as literature the Society of American Historians will again offer the Francis Parkman Prize (five hundred dollars and inscribed scroll) for a book in American history. Further information can be obtained from Professor John A. Garraty, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The Social Science Research fellowship for research on national security policy

(announced in the July *Review*, p. 1043) went to Robin D. S. Higham rather than Robin W. Winks.

PUBLICATIONS

The first number of *The Welsh History Review* (Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru) has been published by the University of Wales (Cardiff) Press. The editor is Glanmor Williams of University College, Swansea.

The Weimar edition of Martin Luther's works is being completed and preliminary work for a revision is beginning. Scholars are invited to send suggestions to the Göttingen Study Group of the Weimar Luther Edition, Dr. Hans Volz, Bovenden via Göttingen, Feldtorweg 2; or the Berlin Study Group of the Weimar Luther Edition, Prof. Dr. Johannes Erben, German Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Institute for German Language and Literature, Berlin W 8, Otto-Nuschke-Strasse 22/23.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Council on Library Resources, Inc., have announced plans for an inquiry into the bases for planning microfilming and other scholarly photocopying projects. The ACLS is sponsoring the inquiry, which is being financed by a grant from the Council on Library Resources. Lester K. Born of the Library of Congress will be the principal investigator. He will have the assistance of an advisory committee, will consult with interested constituent societies, and invites correspondence with interested scholars.

The third annual meeting of the Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History met at Omaha, Nebraska, on March 25 and 26 under the auspices of the University of Omaha. More than one hundred professors from ten states attended the Conference at which Hajo Holborn and Gilbert Fite were the principal speakers.

The Society for French Historical Studies held its annual conference at the University of Rochester on April 8 and 9. Professor André Tunc spoke at the dinner meeting on "The French and American Presidencies." The Society's William Koren, Jr., Prize was awarded to Paul Walden Bamford for his article "The Procurement of Oarsmen for French Galleys, 1660-1784," published in the *American Historical Review*, October 1959. The next conference will be held at Princeton University on April 14 and 15, 1961. The new President of the Society is Professor Robert R. Palmer, and the Vice-President is Dr. Jean Joughin.

An American Committee on Irish Studies has been formed to establish communication between all those interested in Irish history and literature. The following officers have been selected: President, Gilbert Cahill; Vice-President, Thomas N. Brown; Treasurer, Emmet Larkin; Secretary, Lawrence J. McCaffrey. At present the Committee is cooperating with the National Library of Ireland in a project to microfilm the materials on Britain and Ireland in the Propaganda

archives in Rome. The American Council of Learned Societies and the Newberry Library, Chicago, are helping to finance the project and a copy of the film will be deposited at the Newberry Library. The Committee is also preparing a collection of essays on Ireland, 1800-1922. All those interested in joining the Committee are requested to contact Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Division of General Studies, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

The American Association for State and Local History, with a committee headed by S. K. Stevens, has begun a study of what historical societies are doing and an assessment of the numbers involved in the entire state and local history movement.

The Office of Education reports the following numbers of degrees in history for the year 1958-1959: Bachelor's, 13,742; Master's, 1,643; Ph.D's., 324. A total of about 463,000 degrees were awarded in all fields, including 69,497 master's degrees and 9,360 doctorates. The percentage increases for history over the previous year for the three degrees were respectively 6.7 per cent, 17.6 per cent, and 9.1 per cent.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Arizona State University: Paul Hubbard named chairman of the department; Guilford A. Dudley promoted to associate professor, George E. Paulsen, to assistant professor. *Arlington State College* (Texas): Frank LeRoy Turner appointed instructor. *Beaver College*: Marvin L. Edwards named chairman of the department to replace Ruth L. Higgins, who has been named professor emeritus; Joseph A. Peters appointed assistant professor. *University of California* (Berkeley): Carl Schorske of Wesleyan University appointed to the staff; Thomas G. Barnes appointed lecturer for 1960-61. *University of California* (Davis): David L. Jacobson of Princeton University and Craig B. Fisher of Cornell University appointed assistant professor. *Canisius College*: William M. Harrigan named chairman of the department; Michael P. Onorato of Georgetown University and J. David Valaik of the University of Rochester appointed instructor. *Carleton College*: Carlton C. Qualey named chairman of the department. *Centre College* (Kentucky): Charles Robert Lee, Jr., appointed instructor. *Colorado State College* (Colorado Springs): Louis Geiger of the University of North Dakota appointed professor. *University of Delaware*: George F. Frick of Rutgers University appointed assistant professor. *DePauw University*: Coen G. Pierson named chairman of the department to replace A. W. Crandall, who is retiring; John B. Wilson and James Findlay promoted to assistant professor; Norman Risjord of the University of Virginia appointed assistant professor; John Baughman on leave for 1960-61. *Duke University*: Richard L. Watson, Jr., promoted to professor and named chairman of the depart-

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

ment; Arthur B. Ferguson promoted to professor, and Donald Gillin, to assistant professor; Owen S. Connelly, Jr., appointed instructor; David M. L. Farr appointed visiting associate professor for the fall semester, and Leonard M. Thompson, visiting professor for the spring semester of 1960-61.

East Texas State College (Commerce): Robert L. Bidwell, Robert J. Chasteen, and Roy A. Rauschenberg promoted to assistant professor; Ralph W. Goodwin of Harvard University and Henry R. Huttenbach of the University of Washington appointed instructor. *Elmira College*: G. W. Simmonds appointed assistant professor. *Gettysburg College*: Seymour B. Dunn appointed acting director of development; Charles H. Glatfelter named acting dean; Joseph Sidney Bachman appointed instructor. *Grove City College*: Luther A. Mueller appointed associate professor to replace G. K. Eggleston, who retired after thirty-one years of service. *Heidelberg College*: Kenneth E. Davison promoted to professor. *Hobart and William Smith Colleges*: Lawrence Ealy named chairman of the department; James L. Crouthamel appointed assistant professor, and David C. Smith and Robert A. Warren III, instructor. *University of Houston*: Corinne Comstock Weston promoted to professor; John Hugh Hill of the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College appointed professor. *University of Illinois*: Norman A. Graebner, appointed associate in the Center for Advanced Studies for 1960, will assume the chairmanship of the department in 1961; Chester G. Starr named acting chairman; C. Ernest Dawn and Ralph T. Fisher, Jr., promoted to professor; Robert B. Crawford appointed assistant professor, and Robert Haan, Herbert Kaplan, J. Rogers Hollingsworth, and Robert McColley, instructor; Cedric Cummins appointed visiting professor for 1960-61; D. J. Geanakoplos on leave for 1960-61. *Immaculate Heart College* (Los Angeles): Knox Mellon, Jr., appointed instructor.

Knox College: Gordon B. Dodds and D. Wynn-ye Kwok appointed assistant professor. *Long Island University*: Jack Hines appointed assistant professor at C. W. Post College. *Louisiana State University* (New Orleans): Trygve R. Tholfsen named chairman of the department; Thomas F. Harwood promoted to assistant professor; E. Frank Masingill, Thomas W. Africa, and Joseph L. Brent III appointed assistant professor, and Stephen E. Ambrose, instructor. *Marietta College*: Robert J. Taylor promoted to professor. *University of Maryland*: David M. Farquhar appointed assistant professor, and George L. Yaney, instructor; Johnny Booth Smallwood, Jr., appointed instructor in the overseas program. *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*: Melvin J. Tucker appointed instructor. *University of Michigan*: John Higham of Rutgers University appointed professor. *Michigan Historical Collections*: F. Clever Bald named director. *Michigan State University Oakland* (Rochester): Samuel Shapiro of Oberlin College appointed assistant professor. *National Trust for Historic Preservation*: Robert R. Garvey, Jr., named executive director. *University of Nebraska*: Stanley R. Ross promoted to professor; Robert L. Koehl on leave for 1960-61. *University of North Carolina*: Carl H. Pegg named chairman of the department; James L. Godfrey and Robert M. Miller promoted to associate professor, and Robin D. S. Higham, to assistant professor; Henry C. Boren of Southern Illinois University appointed associate professor, Herbert L. Bodman of American University, assistant professor, and

Leopold B. Koziembrodzki of St. Edward's University, acting professor; Wallace E. Caldwell retired after thirty-nine years in the department. *Northeast Louisiana College*: Waddy William Moore III appointed assistant professor. *Northwestern University*: J. Patrick White named assistant dean of the Evening Division; Grady McWhiney of the University of California, Berkeley, and Robert H. Wiebe of Columbia University appointed assistant professor; Avery Craven appointed visiting professor, and Thomas M. Iiams of Queens College, visiting assistant professor for 1960-61; Richard W. Leopold on leave for 1960-61.

Otterbein College: David A. Waas of Western State College of Colorado named dean of the college and appointed professor of history. *University of Pennsylvania*: Paul Schrecker retired. *University of Pittsburgh*: Samuel P. Hays of the State University of Iowa named chairman of the department; Samuel C. Chu of Bucknell University appointed associate professor. *University of Rhode Island*: William A. Itter named acting chairman for 1960-61; Donald Tilton and William D. Metz promoted to professor; Frederick Hetter appointed instructor. *Rutgers University*: Henry R. Winkler named chairman of the department; Richard M. Brown of Harvard University, Warren I. Susman of Northwestern University, and Donald Weinstein of the University of Wisconsin appointed assistant professor, Donald A. Limoli of Duke University, lecturer. *Salem Academy*: Leila Ryland Swain appointed to the staff. *San Francisco State College*: Samuel C. McCulloch of Rutgers University named dean of the college and appointed professor of history. *San Jose State College*: Bernice B. Tompkins promoted to professor, Charles B. Burdick, to associate professor; H. Wayne Morgan of the University of California, Los Angeles, and Peter Buzanski of the University of California, Berkeley, appointed to the staff. *Skidmore College*: John G. Van Deusen, recently retired from Hobart and William Smith Colleges, appointed visiting professor for 1960-61. *Social Science Research Council*: Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr., of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology appointed to the staff. *South Dakota School of Mines and Technology*: Erwin F. Kerner appointed to the staff. *University of Southern California*: Colin Rhys Lovell promoted to professor. *Southern Methodist University*: Franklin Littell of the Candler School of Theology, Emory University, appointed to the faculty of the Perkins School of Theology. *Stanford University*: Lewis W. Spitz of the University of Missouri appointed to the staff; Traian Stoianovich appointed visiting assistant professor for 1960-61.

Temple University: Harry M. Tinkcom named chairman of the department; Thomas D. McCormick promoted to professor, Gilbert M. Hill and Robert H. Schwoebel, to assistant professor; David Carl of Princeton University, Richard Millman of the University of Pennsylvania, and Edward Richards of the University of Wisconsin appointed instructor, and Dwight Morrow, Jr., lecturer for 1960-61. *Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College*: Harwood P. Hinton and Peter A. Ford appointed instructor. *Texas Technological College*: Ronald Dean Ware and Timothy Paul Donovan appointed assistant professor; Thomas G. Manning on leave for 1960-61. *Washington College*: Nathan Smith promoted to associate professor. *Western Michigan University*: Willis F. Dunbar named chair-

man of the department to succeed Robert R. Russel, who has retired; Alan S. Brown promoted to associate professor, John R. Sommerfeldt, to assistant professor; Albert Castel of Waynesburg College and George T. Beech of the University of Massachusetts appointed assistant professor, Andrew C. Nahm and Graham P. Hawks, instructor. *Western Reserve University*: Lester G. Crocker of Goucher College appointed to the staff. *Willamette University*: Ernst L. Presseisen appointed assistant professor. *University of Wisconsin*: Michael B. Petrovich, David A. Shannon, William A. Williams, and Irvin G. Wyllie promoted to professor; Richard N. Current and Emlyn D. Jones appointed professor; Gernot Rath named chairman of the department of the history of medicine; William D. Stahlman and John L. Phelan appointed associate professor, David S. Lovejoy, assistant professor, and James P. Kindregan, instructor; Burr Phillips retired after thirty-five years in the department; Carl Bode appointed visiting professor, Domenico Sella, visiting assistant professor, and Donald A. White, visiting instructor for 1960-61; Thomas D. Clark and Kristof Glamann appointed to the staff for the second semester; Merrill M. Jensen, Thomas R. Metcalf, and Robert L. Reynolds on leave for 1960-61.

RECENT DEATHS

Carl Ludwig Lokke, historian and archivist, died April 3, 1960, at the age of sixty-two. Dr. Lokke received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of California, Berkeley, and his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in 1932. In 1935 he began his career at the National Archives in the Division of Classification and served in various capacities since that time. As head of the Foreign Affairs Branch of the Archives he long and unstintingly shared with historians his amazing knowledge of the United States records from overseas. Among his publications was the excellent book *France and the Colonial Question: A Study of French Opinion, 1763-1801*, and he wrote in addition, many articles and reports of value to historians and archivists. He was a life member of the American Historical Association.

Louis Martin Sears died May 15, 1960, at the age of seventy-five. He joined the Purdue University staff in 1920 and taught at various other universities. His latest book was *George Washington and the French Revolution* (1960).

Homer Carey Hockett, a life member of the Association and a former President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, died at Bartlesville, Oklahoma, May 17, 1960, at the age of eighty-five. He received his B.A. degree from the University of Wisconsin where he was graduate assistant to Frederick Jackson Turner. He taught first at Central College, Missouri, and then for many years at Ohio State University. His students knew him as a kind but exacting teacher. He contributed "Federalism and the West" to *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner* (1910). He was the author of *Western Influences on Political Parties to 1825* (1917), *Introduction to Research in American History* (1931), and *A Constitutional History of the United States, 1776-1876* (1939).

Charles Singer, professor emeritus of the history of medicine at the University of London, died June 10, 1960, at the age of eighty-three. He was President of the British Society for the History of Science from 1946 to 1948 and of the International Society for the History of Science from 1947 to 1950. Dr. Singer was one of the editors of *A History of Technology* and among the most prominent of the historians of science.

Dudley W. Knox died on June 11, 1960, in Washington, D. C., at the age of eighty-two. Commodore Knox was deputy director of naval history and curator and officer in charge of the Navy Department's records and library from 1921 to 1946. He was influential in establishing the Naval Historical Foundation, of which he was President at the time of his death. Commodore Knox wrote *A History of the United States Navy* (1936) and edited *Naval Documents—Quasi-War with France, February, 1797, to December, 1801*.

Frederick E. J. Wilde, professor emeritus of history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and chairman of the department from 1926 to 1956, died June 22, 1960, at the age of seventy-four.

Lucile Deen Pinkham, professor of history and chairman of the department at Carleton College, died June 24, 1960, at the age of fifty-six. She was the author of *William III and the Respectable Revolution*.

Jaime Vicens Vives, well-known Catalan historian, died June 28, 1960, at the age of fifty. In 1947 he was given the chair of Universal Modern and Contemporary History at Saragossa University and in 1948 was appointed to the same chair at Barcelona University, which he occupied until his death. He was a prolific writer and over the past thirty years published many historical works, some of which earned international awards. Shortly before his death he completed the final volume of his *Economic and Social History of Spain and the Americas*.

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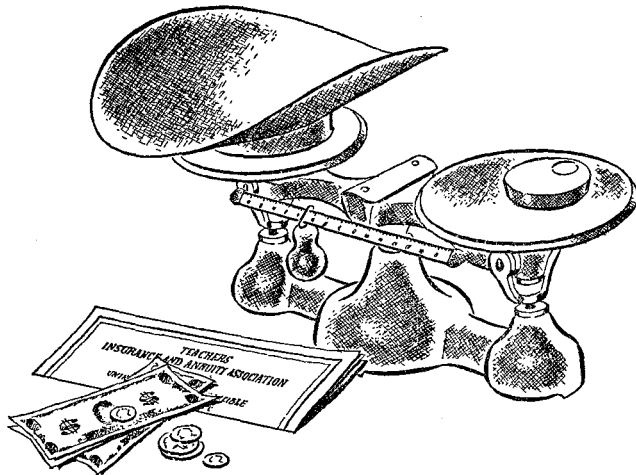
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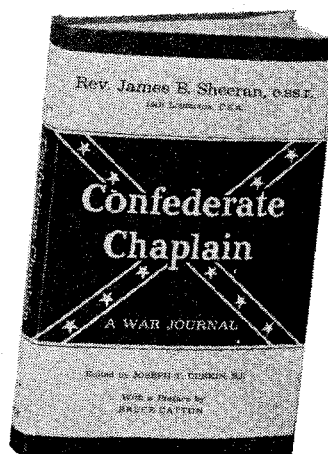
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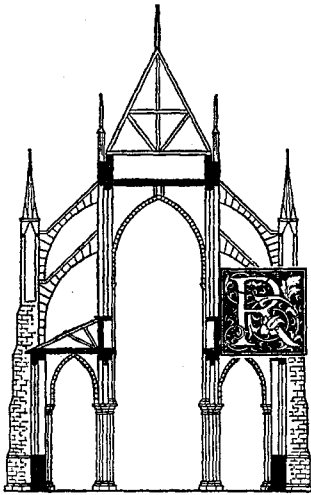
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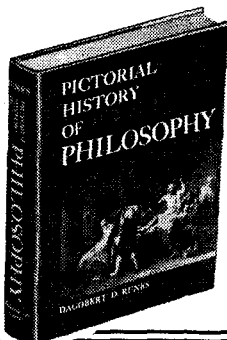
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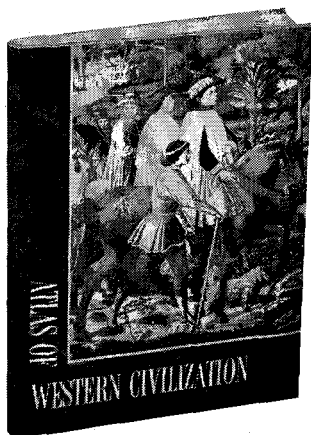
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